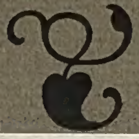
ART STUDIES

Medieval Renaissance
and Modern



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ART STUDIES

Medieval Renaissance and Modern

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EDITOR
ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER

CONSULTING EDITORS

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, Jr.	CHANDLER RATHFON POST
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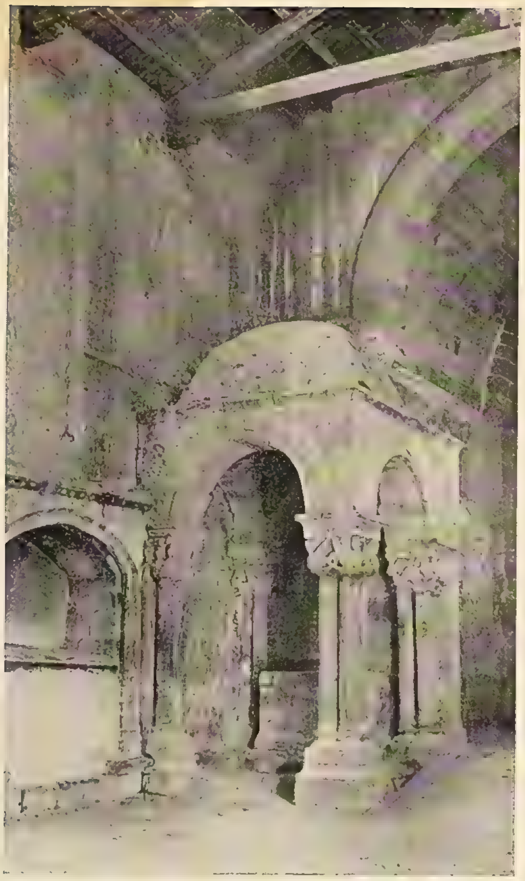
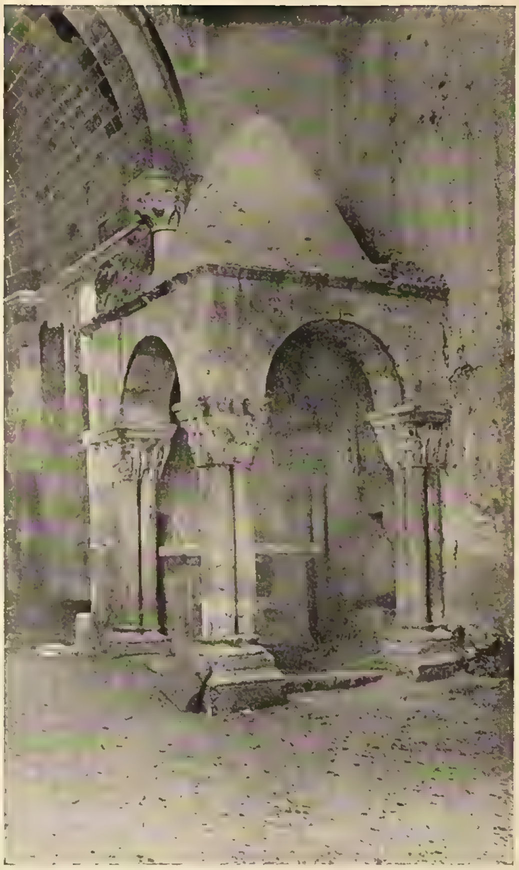
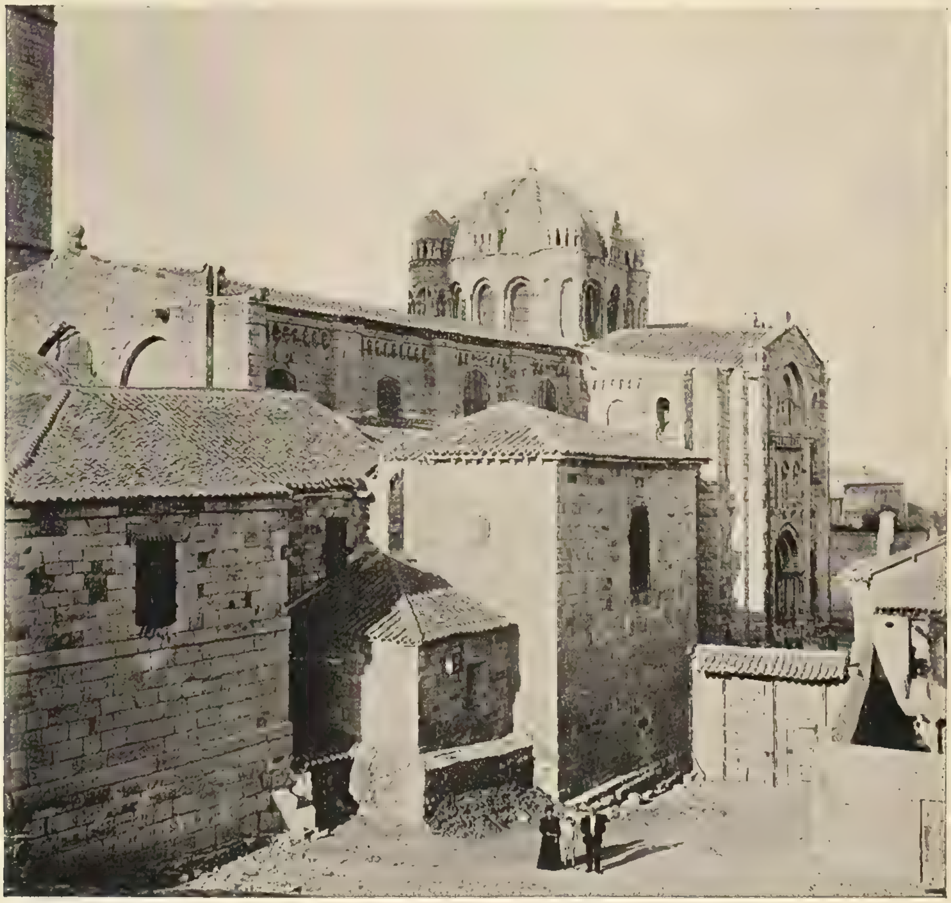
THE PROBLEM OF THE DUERO



1. Soria, S. Juan del Duero: Tabernacle



2. Soria, S. Juan del Duero: Tabernacle



3. Zamora, Cathedral

THE PROBLEM OF THE DUERO

By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

At the opening of the twelfth century Soria was a Moorish stronghold. Alfonso II of Aragon retook it, and held it for a while, setting a garrison in the castle and perhaps establishing on the river posts of the soldier monks, Knights of St. John, and Templars, to guard the ford and care for travellers. There still may be made out the ruins of the hospice dedicated to S. Lazaro, by the roadside, and by the waterside, just beyond, those of S. Polo, which was a house of Templars that owed obedience to Aragon and not to the Castilian bishop of the diocese at Osma. There also still stands the single-aisled church of S. Juan del Duero, built for Hospitallers, where a pair of ciboria, or tabernacles, are yet flanking the apse (Figs. 1 and 2). The ciborium of S. Eleucadius, in a similar position at Ravenna, will be familiar to the reader, and four more examples may be traced in Spain; but the arrangement is essentially eastern, and the forms are very close to the domes on the famous slab that Layard uncovered at Nineveh, as though the builder here were a man from Bagdad or Babylon. Alongside stands a cloister, built partly of horseshoe arches which, with an interlacing arcade, recall the Saracenic ornamentation at Amalfi and Monreale. Whatever foundations were made by El Batallador would have been laid before the year 1134, in which he died, leaving his kingdom by will to the Orders. There is something more than a presumption, in the circumstances, that the Orders were installed at Soria, with their Palestinian contact and eastern slaves, thus early, though the building that survives is perhaps late twelfth-century work. The Aragonese garrison was probably withdrawn from Soria and Almazán after El Batallador's stepson, Alfonso VII of Castile, had grown up and begun his conquests, and the town may even have lapsed into Moorish power.

The repeopling of Soria was done in three ways: by groups of families, allied or acquainted, who would arrive together and settle in a quarter or a suburb, build a church to their familiar saint from home, and go on in close relationship; second, by gentlemen and younger sons, exiles and fighting-men, who would receive, along with a title and lands, a *solar*, the site for a great house, and marry and found a great family; third, by Jews and Moors, many left over from before the reconquest, and, both sorts, attracted by the liberty and protection offered. The Jews of Soria possessed a quarter of their own in the citadel, with the honor of special sentinel duty, and as late as 1459 Enrique IV was still granting peculiar exemptions and privileges to the Jews and Moors of the castle of Soria. Anti-Semitism, in Spain, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was in abeyance. From the basin of the Ebro, in Navarre, there had already set out a great traveller, Benjamin of Tudela,[1] who was to visit not only Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Bagdad, but Nisibis and Carchemish, with Babylon of Egypt, and to see, or to record, the marvels of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, with India and Cathay; and certainly to stay long at the capital of the Eastern Caliphate.

In these same parts of Spain, about 1140, took form the poem of *My Cid:* the action, where most poignant, is played out between Calatayud and S. Estéban de Gormaz. Either that hill-city or Medinacoeli, reconquered about 1120, was probably the birthplace of the *juglar* who composed it, whom Menéndez Pidal[2] conceives to have been, belike, a Mozarab of Medina. The points to be noted here are those of contact (1) with the Crusaders' Syria by Christians and Jews, (2) with the Moslem East, to Mesopotamia and beyond, by Jewish and Arab merchants and travellers, and (3) with the Eastern and Western Caliphate by Moors and Mozarabes established in peculiarly happy circumstances in this upper basin of the Duero.

The great prosperity of Soria is supposed, however, to be due to Alfonso VIII, who there was sheltered and reared as a child, and on attaining his majority in 1170 kept before him the services of the Sorians and "crowned them with graces, building temples and conceding important privileges." His Semitic leanings are reflected in the legend of his love for a fair Jewess. Within his reign, which endured through the last third of the twelfth and the first portion of the thirteenth century, we may perhaps fix the actual building of the chief monuments that survive: S. Juan del Duero, S. Juan de Rabaneyra, the cloister and earlier church of S. Pedro, and, at the top of the town, S. Tomás. The fact that Soria was not a cathedral city but, so to speak, palatine, contributed in the architecture to the variety and freedom from local or ecclesiastical tradition.

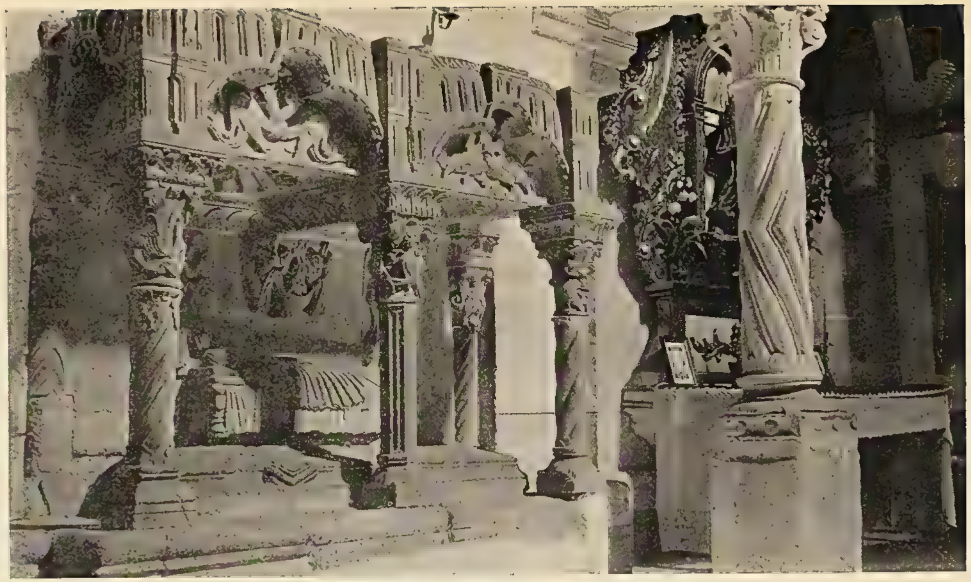
Deferring for a moment the consideration of these, we must regard a slightly earlier group of domed churches, situate near the western frontier, for the most part strung along the Silver Road: Toro, set above the Duero "like a sign among the stars"; then Zamora, Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, Plasencia; and where the river and the Silver Road cross, at Zamora, we must consider the surprising architecture called usually Salmantine.

Only a Spaniard, perhaps, is attuned to recognize just what is meant in saying that the first bishop of Zamora was D. Jeronimo, Jerome of Périgueux. To us it means only the scaly domes reflected in the brimming Isle. To him

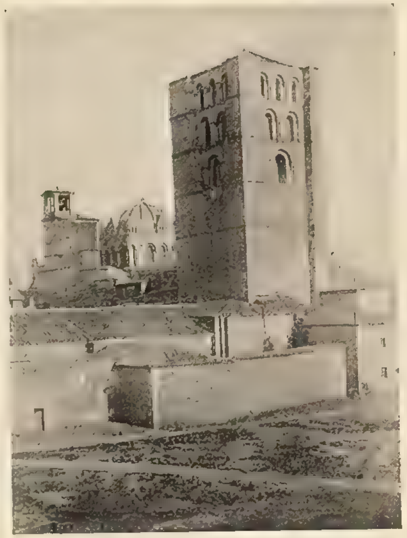
---

[1] Journey, c. 1159–73. The most convenient reference is Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. II, pp. 225–264.

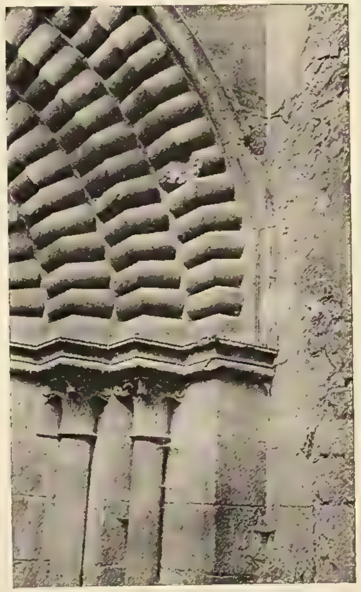
[2] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poema de Mio Cid*, pp. 29–31. For Moors under kingly patronage, in that region, cf. Férotin, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos*, pp. 72, 76.



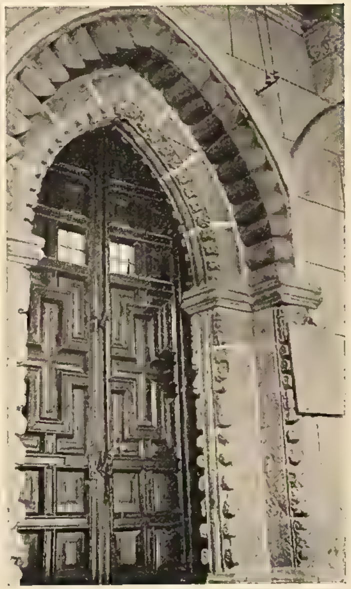
6. Zamora, La Magdalena: Tabernacles



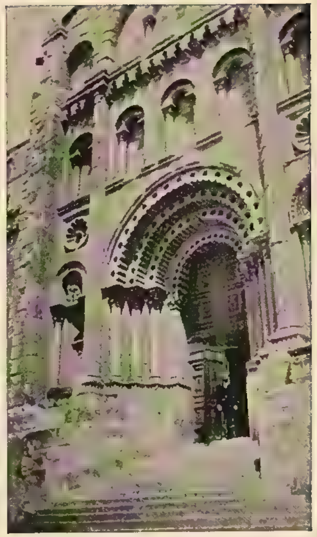
4. Zamora, Cathedral: Dome and Tower



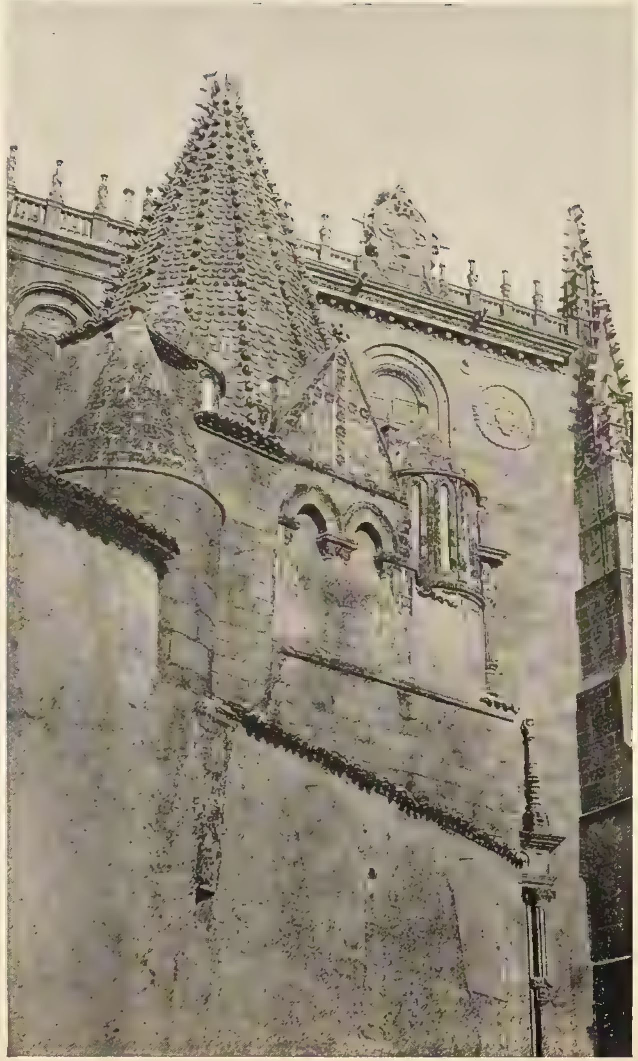
7. Zamora, Santiago del Burgo: Door-moulding



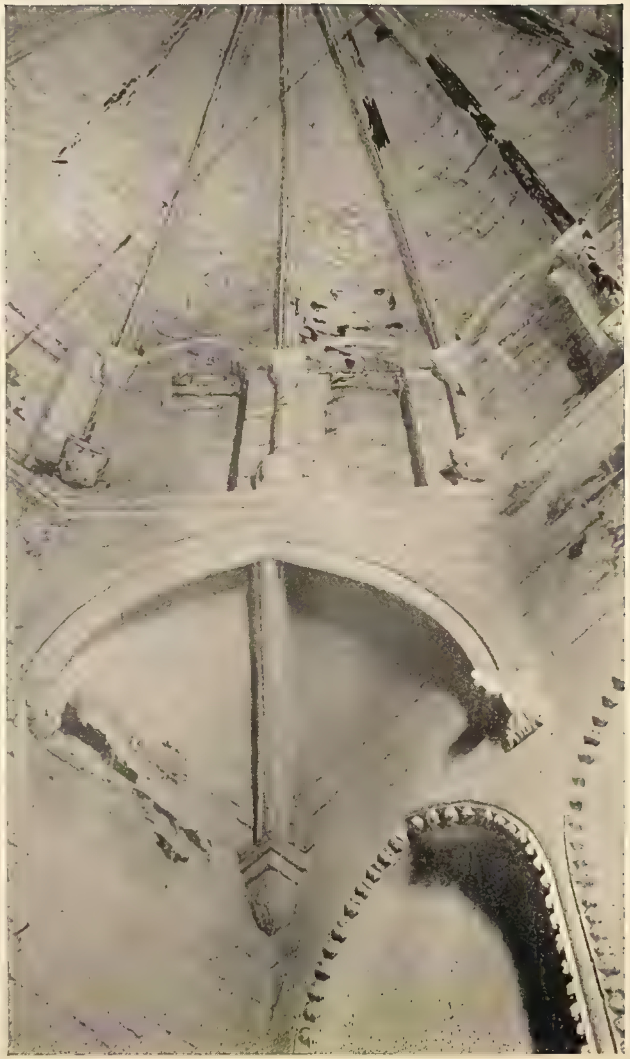
8. Plasencia; Old Chapter-room: Door-moulding



5. Zamora, Cathedral: South Transept: Door-moulding



9. Plasencia; Old Chapter-room, Salmantine Style



10. Plasencia; Old Chapter-room: Dome and Squinch

it means Valencia,[1] which My Cid Ruy Diaz took, and there set the fighting prelate as bishop: Valencia, hard-won and to be lost again after 1099 for another century — exquisite, civilized, luxurious and sea-faring, peopled all the while with Moors, trafficking with all the lands of the Caliphate of Bagdad, so utterly Arabized then and long afterwards that, in the days when Alfonso el Sabio was composing the *Coronica General*, the whole story of the conquest was to be taken over from Arab sources.[2] It means also S. Pedro de Cardeña, situate in the southern valleys of the Ebro basin, always the Cid's place of refuge and predilection, to which at the last the bishop rode with his master dead yet still victorious, and where he lived for certain years, within visiting distance of S. Domingo de Silos, not too far away from the track of pilgrims on the *camino francés*. Now S. Domingo, abbot (1041–73) of Silos and rebuilder of the great Benedictine abbey that never yielded obedience to Cluny, was a contemporary and friend of Desiderio of Monte Cassino, doing much the same sort of thing; and if the Italian could fetch workmen from Constantinople, so belike could the Spaniard, and moreover, from Iconium and Bagdad. We know indeed that he had slaves working at the abbey, for when they ran away, he recovered them miraculously. These are they who are supposed to have carved the marvels of the cloister. We know also that the church he built (by the testimony preserved by the last abbot in passing to be bishop of Segovia) was in every respect very like the old cathedral of Salamanca. Abbot Nebreda, about 1580, had left not only a description but a plan among the archives. It had a dome, and moreover two other lesser domes or half-oranges, on the Gospel and Epistle side respectively, which can only be such tabernacles as have been noted at S. Juan del Duero already. Now Silos lies among mountains, yet nearer to the Duero than to the Ebro, and represented almost certainly the earliest built in the series of domed churches under consideration, though the type would be modified by its monastic instead of cathedral estate.

True it is, as often urged, that the west country in the eleventh century and early twelfth belonged directly to the Burgundian counts who had married the daughters of Alfonso VI; but the French prelates whom they imported either lived at court like the great archbishop Bernard, or became pretty completely spagnolized, like D. Jeronimo. Zamora had been already repeopled as early as 893 by Alfonso the Great with men from Toledo, the Arabs, and Christians called Mozarabes,[3] and never presumably had lost its delicate Mozarabic civilization, even under Burgundian soldiery and monks. The cathedral was begun and carried through to consecration by a single bishop, Stephen, between the years 1151 and 1174 (Fig. 3). Since then, the east end and the west have been rebuilt, but it is not hard to see how there were once the three parallel apses generally characteristic of Spanish Romanesque; how the west end was designed with the two towers and an open porch between, as in the Syrian and Anatolian styles which inspired the great church-building in northern Italy and Burgundy; and how the nave, in course of building through the close of the twelfth century, was constructed with a strong ribbed vault, while a barrel vault and dome cover Bishop Stephen's transepts and crossing. Three things less easy to read must strike the beholder who sees the great church on its steep height from any angle: the tower, the dome, and the south transept face. That massy tower (Fig. 4), sole and unique, is unlike any either Lombard or Burgundian. That low swelling melon-dome, with four lantern-turrets at the angles and four gables in between, ribbed, and showing the obverse of flutes and ribs plain outside as within, looks like nothing nearer than Athens.[1] Whatever commixture of Byzantine and Asiatic art brought about the domed building of mediaeval Greece, must be reckoned among the causes of this by the Duero. The south transept face (Fig. 5), the only original one surviving, draws the recollection further east, and further back in time, with its deep-recessed portal between two niches, its row of blind arcades or niches above, topped by a corbelled cornice, and then a third superb order, at gable height, of one wide arch and two lesser ones. This order is carried by the pair of lofty fluted columnar buttresses, that go up from the door-jambs to great capitals at the cornice, and represents the same structural device that the builders of Daphni employed in their transept-bay there; the famous transepts of Aulnay, in the upper stage, show the same arrangement of arches without the structural occasion. The source, here at Zamora, of the façade must be sought in a sequence which Strzygowski established: the Golden Gate of Spalato, the Golden Gate of Byzance, and Ctesiphon, with the ancient Mesopotamian usage of arcaded building.

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[1] *Primera Cronica General* (*Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*), pp. 547–592.

[2] Dozy, *Recherches* (3d ed.), vol. II, pp. 30–55.

[3] Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias Mozarabes*, pp. 106, 107.

This is a composite art: the curious pattern of the archivolt is Asiatic Moslem — it recurs at Salamanca; the deep-fluted rosettes are east-imperial; the sculpture in the head of the flanking niches looks to France. On the west, there is just such a pair of apostles as you may meet at Angoulême; on the east, such a crowned Virgin, under a canopy, between angels, as you may track through Pyrenean valleys, up the great rivers, to Chartres and Notre-Dame; but she sits like *Dea Syria* in a bower of cypress leafage and cones, both here and probably once at Ciudad Rodrigo. As might be anticipated, given the history, the structure of pendentives is not Byzantine, but like that of Aquitaine.[2] The church of La Magdalena was once the Templars', and

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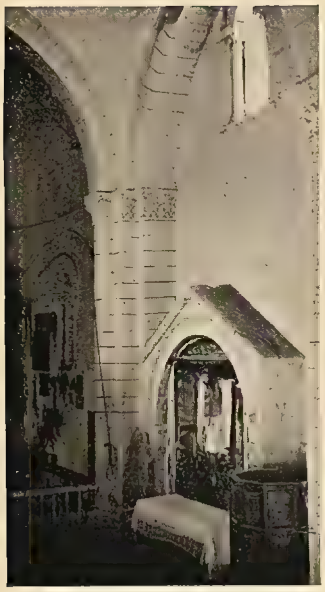
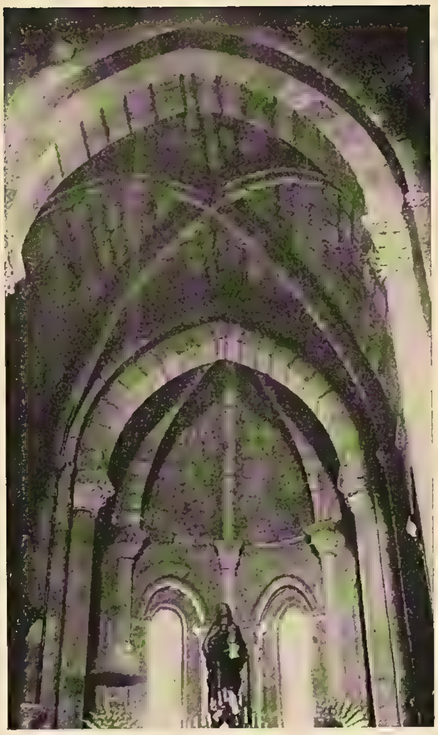
[1] Cf., however, the original church of Manasija, as the donor carries it: Millet, *L'Ancien Art Serbe*, Fig. 237.

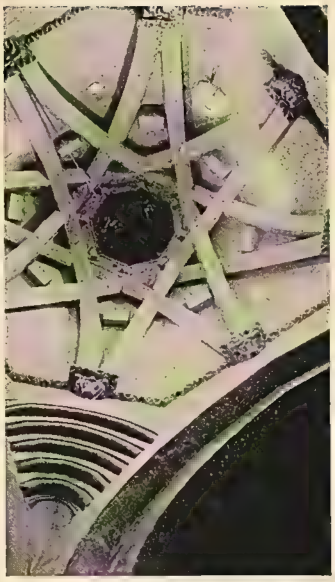
[2] Spiers, *Architecture East and West*, pp. 179–185; Lampérez, *Historia de la Arquitectura*, vol. I, pp. 370–381.



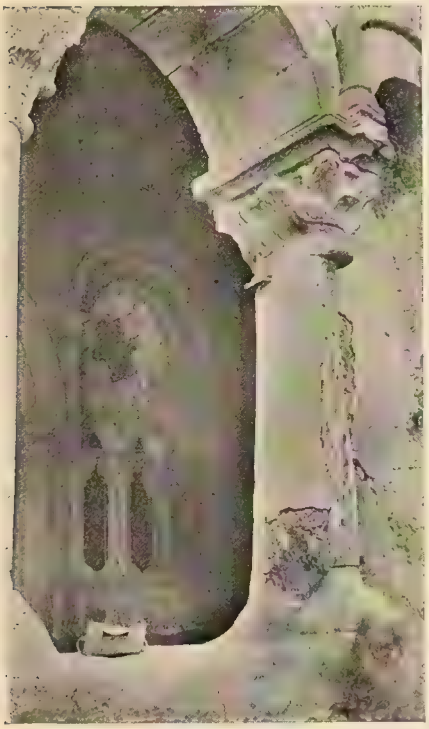
11. Rodilla, Our Lady of the Valley: Tabernacle and Pendentive



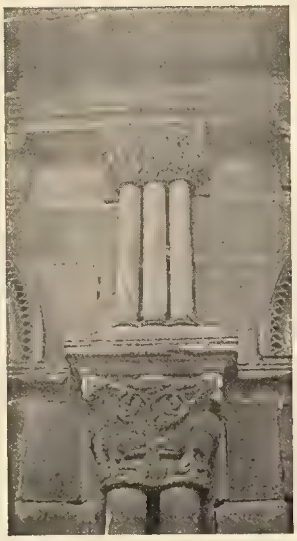
13. Soria, S. Juan de Rabaneyra: Apse-fluting



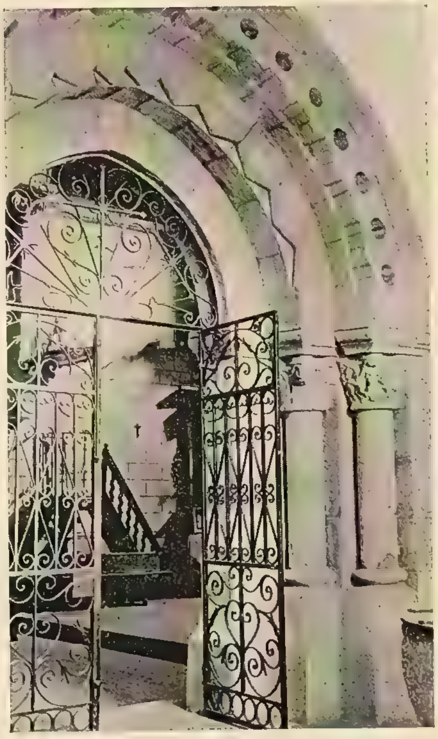
12. Almazán, S. Miguel: Dome and Squinch



14. Soria, S. Pedro: Window of Chapter-room: Moulding



16. Soria, S. Pedro: Triple Colonnettes



15. Zamora, S. Maria de Huerta: Door-moulding

contains the remnants of such a pair of tabernacles (Fig. 6) as exist in Soria, though they have been transformed into tomb-canopies, and though the style is frankly "Saracenic," with its cusping and its monsters. Around its door are set the same fine crumpled acanthus leaves that occur in the Syrian school of a great pilgrimage place, S. Simeon Stylites, on pillars still standing among the ruins, or others in the Aleppo mosque called Jami' el Helawiyeh [1]; they recur, modified, at Toro on the north door, and were to become a familiar feature in Spanish Romanesque. The north door of Santiago del Burgo (Fig. 7) is adorned with a row of heavy flutes which reappear at Plasencia (Fig. 8), and had been used at Cairo, on the gate of Bab el Futuh, built in 1089 by a man fetched from Edessa.[2] Nor should the rare theme of the Sleep of the Infant Jesus pass unmarked, which D. Francisco Anton has noted on an early twelfth-century capital in S. Tomé, of which it is perhaps the earliest known example,[3] and which M. Millet has found at Mistra and elsewhere in the Greek region. A good deal more of iconographic evidence exists to prove the passage of pilgrims and others from the East, but the examination would be too long.

To sum up: in the building at Zamora we find, along with French traits both structural and sculptural, others Oriental, Asiatic rather than Byzantine, and, in the decorative parts, Moslem. The Mozarabic population, the Burgundian and Aquitanian clergy, cannot account for all. Lampérez wrote twenty years ago: "Of the masters of the cathedral of Zamora nothing is known; perhaps there were two, one French, the other Oriental, or they were educated in those schools[4]". Two other conditions we may add, simply by way of developing this thought: the Duero Road, along which passed pilgrims and merchants and all the travellers of an age stirring and on the move, and the warm current of interchanging ideas and workmen that circulated between the Eastern and the Western Caliphate.

The characteristic style, identified thus at Zamora, traceable from high-lying Silos in the northern hills, past Toro, and then south along the Roman Road past Salamanca, past Ciudad Rodrigo, — which may indeed have reared just such another dome to last until the disastrous sieges of the Peninsular War, although more probably it was not completed until domes were out of date, — dies out in the Gothic of Plasencia, founded by Alfonso VIII as the century ended. The walls were built in 1198. The old chapter-room, now the canons' vestiary, is covered by a ribbed dome and roofed by a crocketed pyramid of stone (Fig. 9) entirely "Salmantine"; but instead of pendentives the angles are spanned by the characteristic Spanish squinch in the form of a ribbed niche (Fig. 10). An early form of this appears in Mesopotamia, at Ukhaidir for instance; a late form is used throughout the Island of Sardinia; what the Spanish builders took from the Arab princes so suited them that when they could escape from foreign pressure they disused pendentives and recurred to it as stubbornly as garden-phlox reverts to its purplish-pink, and carried it where Spain went.

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[1] G. Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 11, and Fig. 6.

[2] They may be seen also on the transept portal of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, designed after that of Santiago de Compostela.

[3] Francisco Anton, *El Arte Romanico Zamorano: Castilla Artistica y Historica*, 1917, pp. 272, 281, 288.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 562.

Northward of Burgos, in the hills, lies a tiny church once conventual, dedicated to Our Lady of the Valley. There may be seen a dome carried on pendentives and a pair of tabernacles (Fig. 11), these modified to fit a narrower space, and the conjunction of the two features must be accepted for evidence of some eastern contact, probably ecclesiastical, there in the far North. Let this pass as a digression; Rodilla has no history.

Where the Duero makes a sharp bend, due south on the road from Soria, Almazán has an Arab name and an ancient bridge. There the church of S. Miguel, narrow-aisled and thick-walled, rears a lantern over the crossing which looks without like those of the Anatolian plateau, but within is domed, and no less than five concentric squinch arches span the angle. The dome-ribs rise in pairs and interlace intricately, leaving a central open space (Fig. 12). Mudéjar work is this. Near by, at S. Baudelio de Berlanga,[1] the same device of interlacing ribs is used; and the most famous examples exist at Cordova cathedral, in the Mihrab domes.

In S. Juan de Rabaneyra, of Soria, the style is again composite; the squinches, quite differently conceived, are ingenious and substantial; the crossing is modern and may replace some such dome as that at Almazán, or, on the other hand, as Lampérez conjectured, a stone-roofed dome of the Salmantine type. The semi-dome of the apse is fluted, or rather folded, so that the value of ribbing is attained by an Arab sort of melon-fluting grossly thickened (Fig. 13). At S. Pedro, though the church was rebuilt in the early Renaissance, the old cloister remains, and in it a door and windows with Arab cusping, opening on what was once a chapter-room (Fig. 14). We call it here Mudéjar, but it is a rare device, characterized, like the south door at Zamora and one at S. Maria de Huerta (Fig. 15), by the sharp edge where two planes meet at a right angle on the soffit of the arch. The use of slender shafts in triple cluster, on the piers facing the cloister garth (Figs. 16, 16A), has not, I think, been explained; nor can it be, except as a far-off memory of

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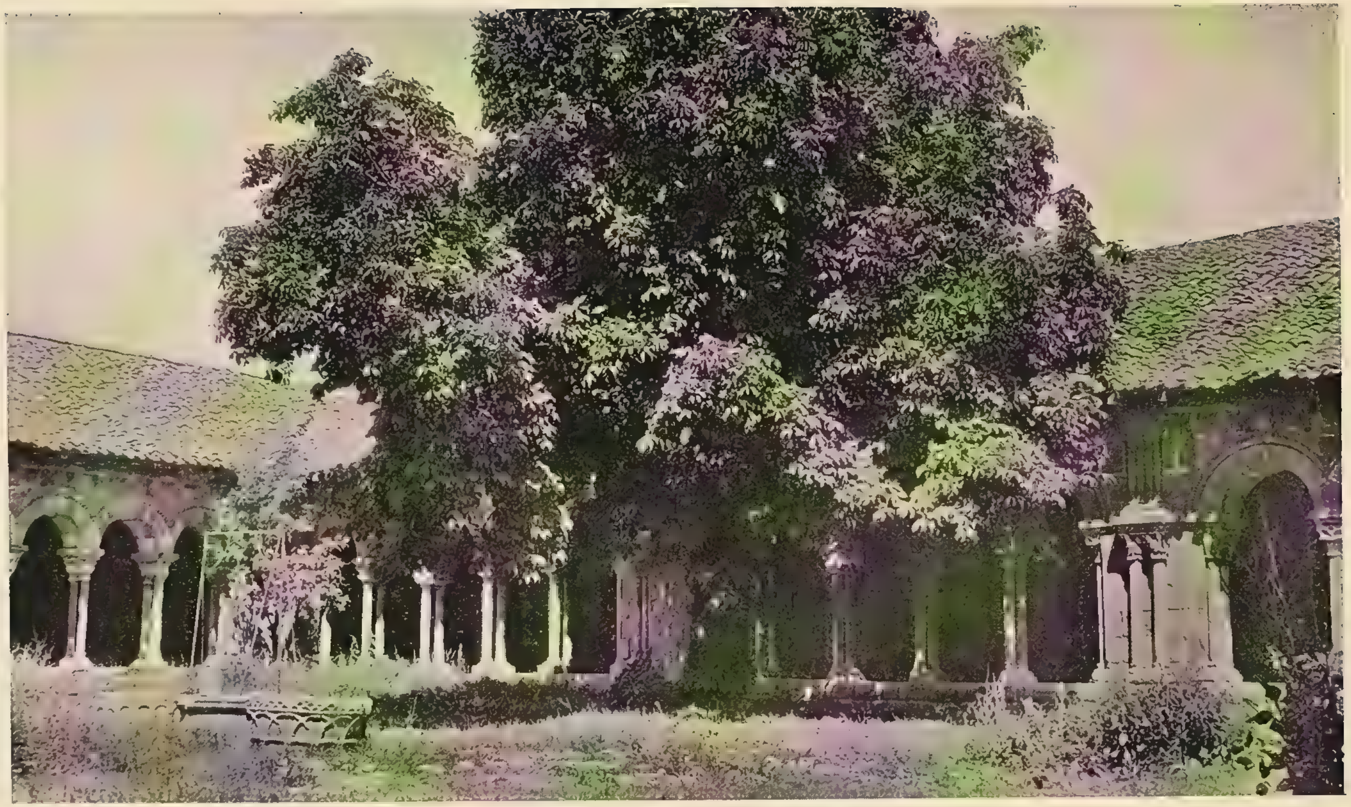
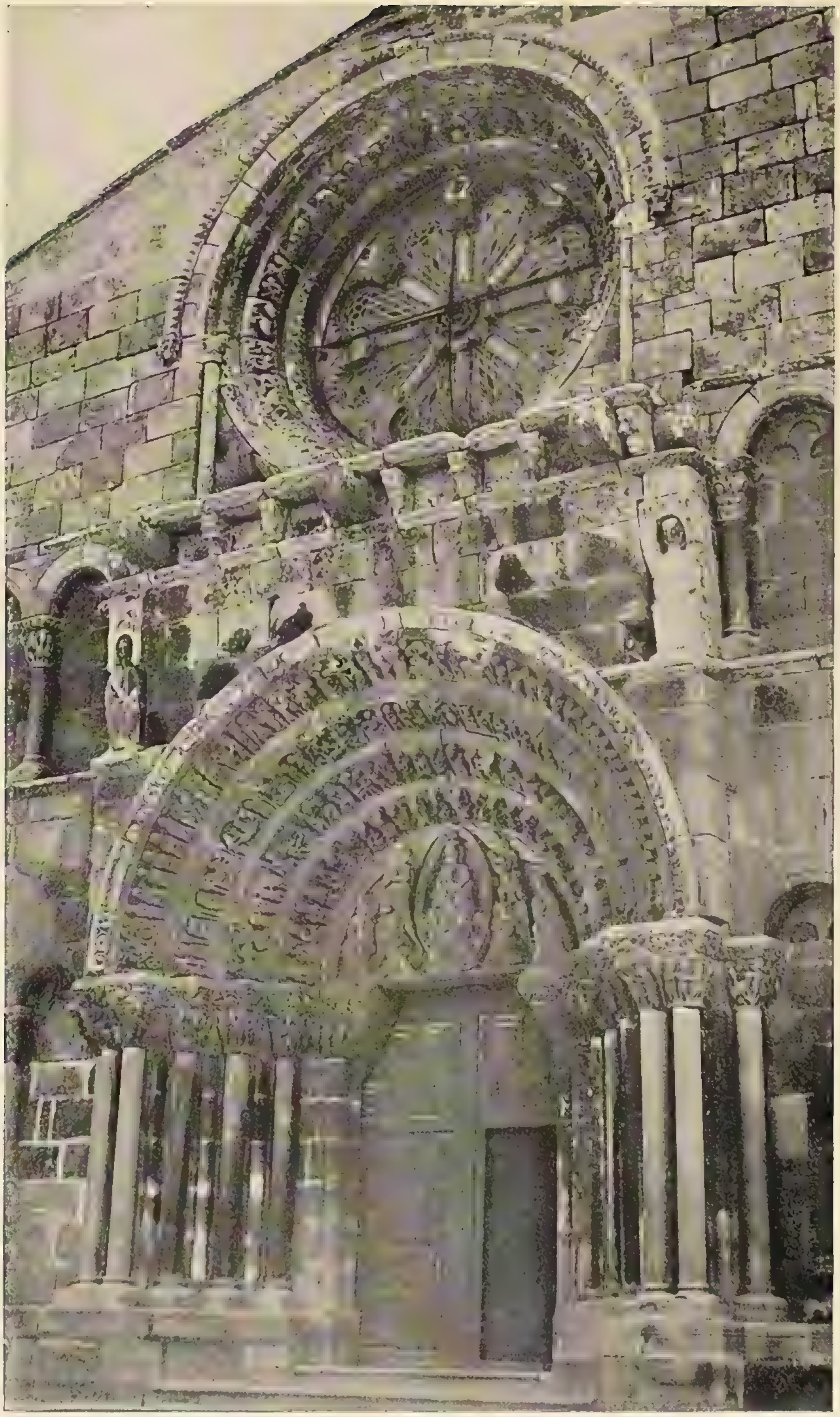
[1] For the conjectural account of S. Baudelio, *vide* G. G. King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches*, p. 199; the Mozarabic chapel at Salamanca, published by Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain* (ed. 1913), vol. I, p. 102. By a caprice of fate, for the present writer was reserved the "invention" and publication of a beautiful and curious instance to be found at Torres, on the *camino francés*, not far above the Ebro crossing at Logroño (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 1918, pp. 159–164); and M. Mâle adds another, also on the *camino de Santiago*, crowning a cruciform chapel at Hôpital S.-Blaise, in *Les Influences Arabes dans l'Art Romane* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov., 1923, p. 334).



16a. Soria, S. Pedro: Cloister: Upper Colonnettes



17. Soria, S. Tomás: Portal

such colonnettes as were grouped in the sixth century at Ctesiphon and in the eighth at Samarra, and indeed continuously in the great building [1] of the lands that rise on either hand from the Mesopotamian streams. In builders who passed directly from the Eastern to the Western Caliphate such memories would be strong; though structure was different, such colonnettes were not yet disused for ornament.

The church of S. Tomás, near the site of the citadel, owes something to the daughter of Eleanor of Poitou, the queen Doña Leonor. The façade is arcaded (Fig. 17), above and below, with two pairs of arches on each side, in the familiar French style of the West, though the rose over all has nothing to do there. Nor have, indeed, the two statues seated in the upper angles of the jutting portal, as if they were somewhere on the *Via Emilia.* The sculpture of all the capitals is rich and dramatic, not unparalleled elsewhere in Spain of the twelfth century. In the Majesty of the tympanum, upheld by four angels, a mysterious Trinity sits enthroned, and the king and queen at the angles can be only D. Alfonso and Doña Leonor. But the carving, in four rows of the archivolts, is quite without a parallel, and differs indeed somewhat between one and another row. The iconography itself is curious; as where a devil whispers in Herod's ear; where Abraham and two angels hold the little souls of the slaughtered Innocents (this finds a parallel, strictly contemporary, in the mighty angels of Master Matthew's Gloria at Compostela, where also is a similar Trinity); or the Crucifixion which is nearly Carolingian; or the Visitation, which is like one of the Catalan frontals; or, more than all, the triple arcade which encloses one range of scenes. Roughly speaking, the innermost row is devoted to the Four-and-Twenty Elders, the second to the Massacre of the Innocents, the third, under the arches, to the Infancy, the fourth to the Passion, and the second and third are most dramatic as well as most individual in style. When first seen more than ten years since, it seemed a joke to say how the work looked Greco-Buddhist, St. Thomas being, as is well known, the Apostle of India. More study, seven years ago, and a third visit and fresh photographing last summer, have confirmed the impression and carried it to conviction (Figs. 18–22).

Except for the late Comm. Rivoira's effort to refer the ornamentation of D. Ramiro's Asturian churches of the ninth century to Boddha-Gaya,[2] perhaps no one hitherto has seriously tried to fetch workmen to a European chantier from India. From Gandhara, however, the journey is not really much harder than any other pilgrimage. Since pre-Christian times there was a great trade route [3] that passed by Bokhara and Samarcand, crossed the

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[1] G. Lowthian Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches,* pp. 448–456. The point lies in the triad, which is not European.

[2] *Architettura Mussulmana,* pp. 337–338.

[3] Beazley, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 179–180, 479, 507; caliph, 399; Arab travellers, vol. III, p. 534, and note, also p. 6.

Cabul River, and came through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar, the capital of Gandhara. It might be taken by men coming from Byzance and Trebizond, or by others preferring the main Persian road, that crossed the Euphrates high up, went through Nisibis, and ran on steadily due east and northeast to the Oxus. Thence one branch, which had come west by Khotan and Yarkand, passed the Pamir and the Hindu Kush and descended to the Indus valley; this is the way in which some of the Chinese pilgrims came to visit Buddhist shrines in the fifth and seventh centuries. Ever since the caliph at Damascus had ruled from the Hindu Kush to the Atlantic, all roads were open; and even after the separation of the Western Caliphate, the current of interchange flowed deep and strong. Among the far-travellers were plenty of Spaniards. Ibn Jubair, a Valencian, brought his journey to a close in 1185; another Valencian, Al Abdari, and a Sevillian, Al Arabi, are noteworthy in the "age of Saladin" which is that of Doña Leonor's brother, Cœur de Lion; it was Ali the son of Abu Bekr, called "the Man of Herat," though born at Mosul and dead at Aleppo, who declined the honor of a presentation to Richard, not caring, though pressed, to talk over with the big blond Englishman all that he had seen and heard of the world. Within thirty years of his death had commenced the successive legations to the court of the Grand Khan, which kept open the ways into the midst of Central Asia.

Now, if the thing is not impossible, the style of these sculptures must be acknowledged; it flashes up at first inspection and consists not merely in feature and expression — most noteworthy perhaps in the scene of the Epiphany, where the Madonna is smiling like some young Siddhartha among the statues in the mess-room, at Marden, of the "Guides." The proportions of the figures and the close regular packing of the serried composition recall many slabs at Lahore Museum (Fig. 22), and even Buddhas (Fig. 20) that at Ajanta sit in rows like the Four-and-Twenty Elders. The instinctive determination[1] toward a triple arcade, with its composition of central and flanking figures, which, however often thwarted, is plainly manifest, and which has no *raison d'être* here, was a necessity of all Buddhist sculpture. Furthermore, where the Greek and Roman tradition of narrative sculpture arranged the composition in long horizontal bands, which even in Romanesque times are treated like ribbons stretched or curving (though the whole convention was already out of fashion, superseded by that which set the figures climbing up past each other, as in the West of France, or on successive brackets within the mouldings, as Gothic was to use them), here it is conceived with more sense of vertical groups, or at any rate of successive stories or stages, and that is typically Indian. The hypothesis does not, of course, require a work-

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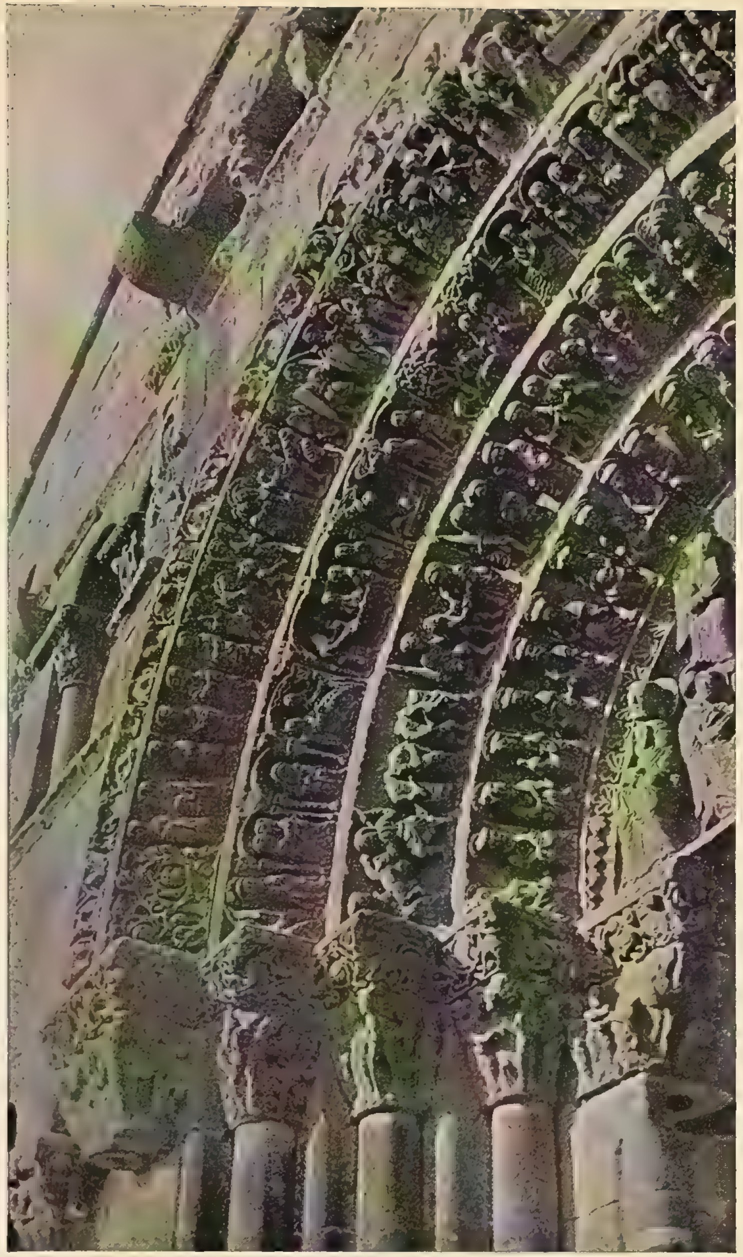
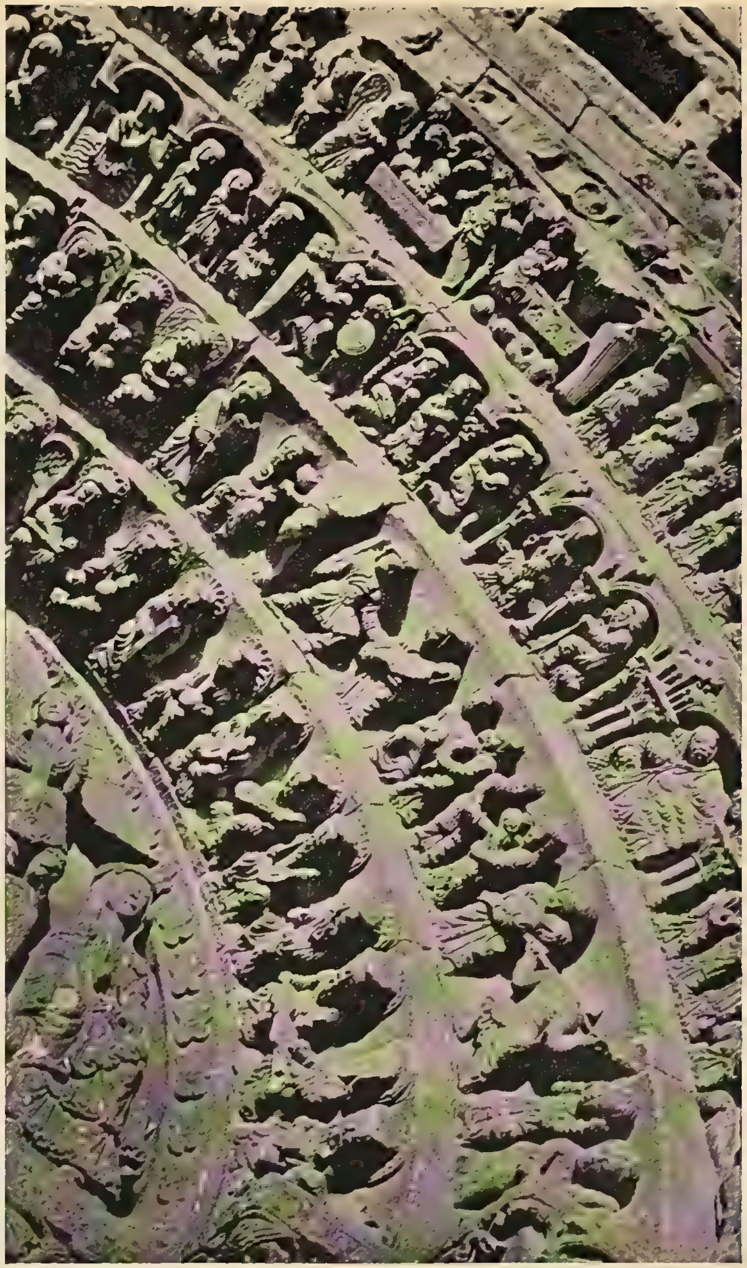
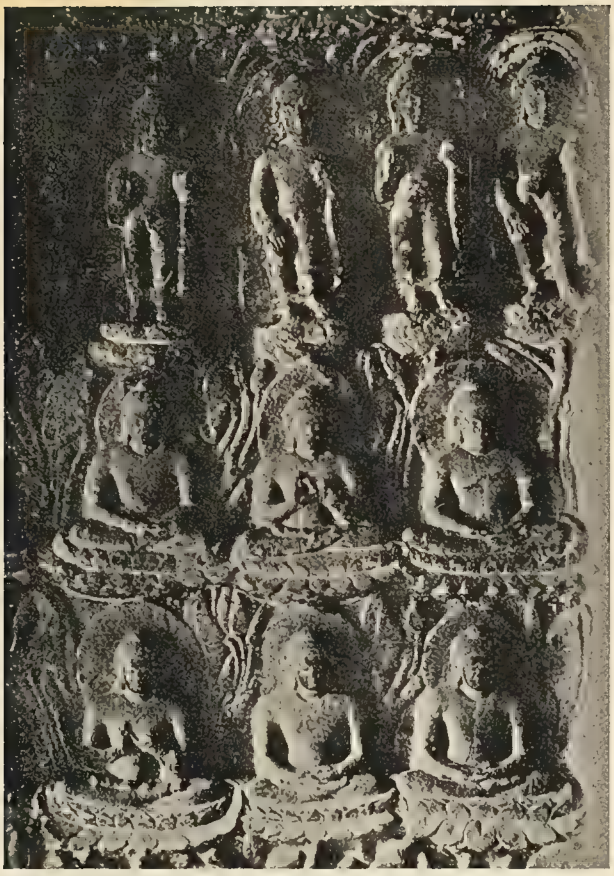
[1] Foucher, *Les Bas-Reliefs Greco-Bouddhiques du Gandhara*, vol. I, *passim*. Figs. 20 and 22 are taken out of plates from his article in *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.–Feb., 1909.



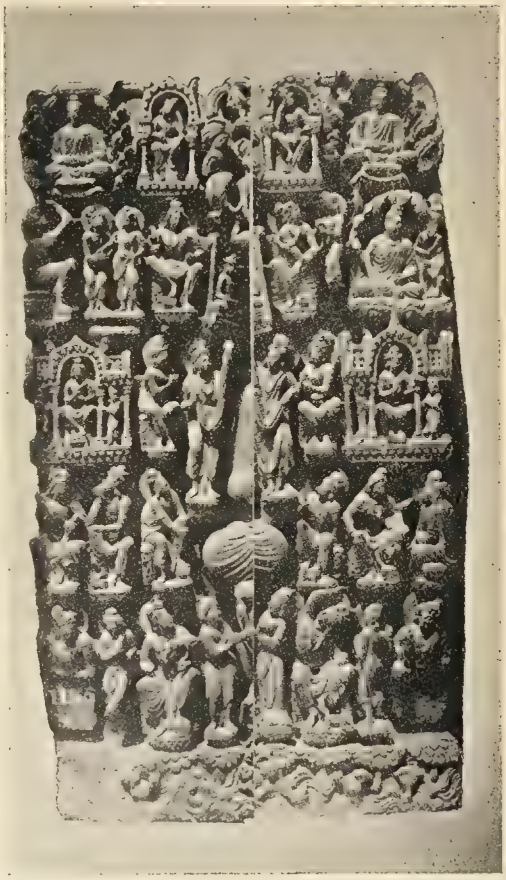
18. Soria, S. Tomás: North Side of Archivolts



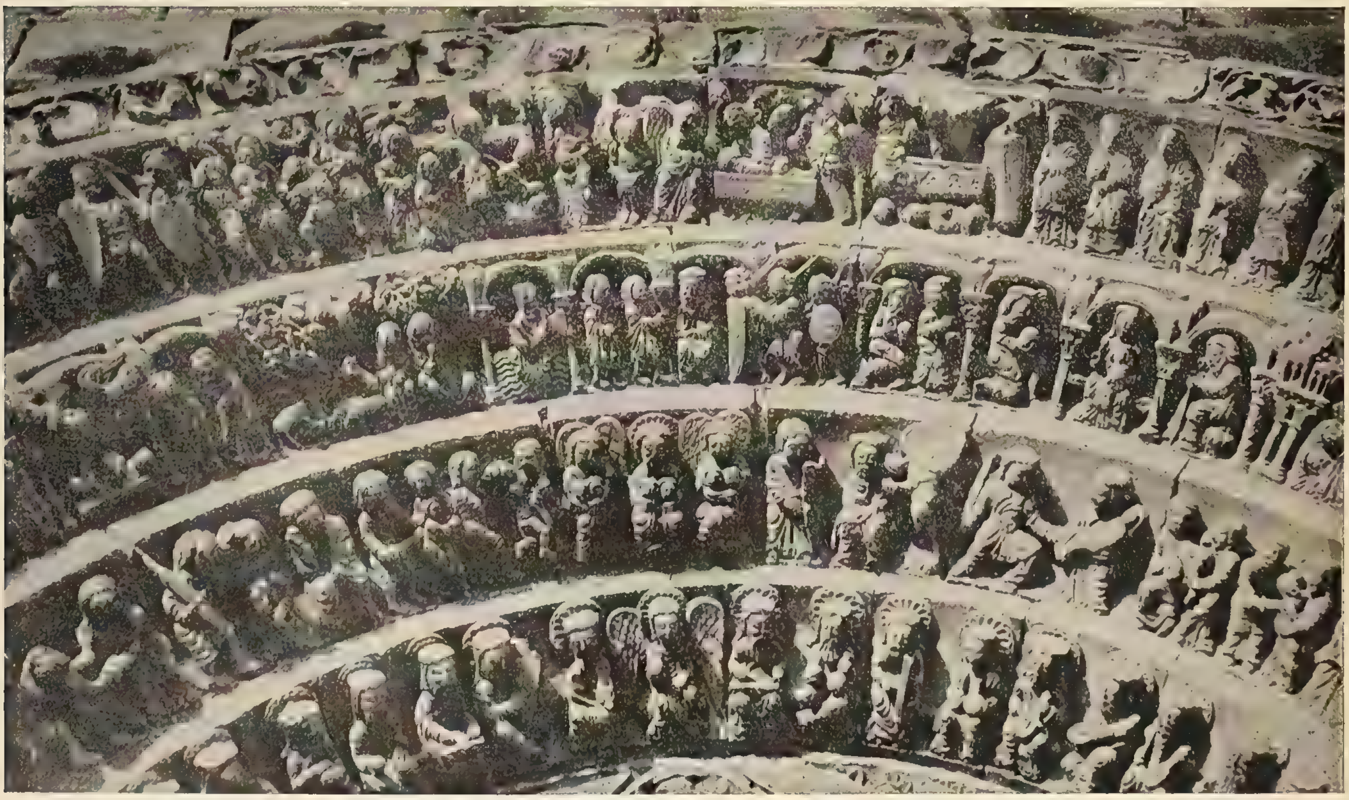
19. Soria, S. Tomás: South Side of Archivolts



20. Ajanta, Buddhas. (After Foucher, Detail)



22. Lahore Museum: Greco-Buddhist Slab. (After Foucher, Detail)



21. Soria, S. Tomás: Centre of Archivolts

man raised from the dust of the old Greco-Buddhist chantier, nor even challenge the melancholy testimony of Hiuen-Tsiang, recorded half a millennium before, that the Religion was less prosperous than of old, that many of the convents and sacred edifices were in decline and falling into dilapidation. It postulates no more, at worst, than such a wanderer as had "seen the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate, the fox looked out from the windows," or had spelled out the sculptures on half-buried walls and crumbling *stupas* and weather-worn river cliffs [1] which the decay of twice as many centuries has not yet utterly destroyed; no more indeed than the possession of a single one of the carved slabs which to-day are counted among the curios in so many country-houses of England, as the latest pilgrim, M. Foucher,[2] records and deplores.

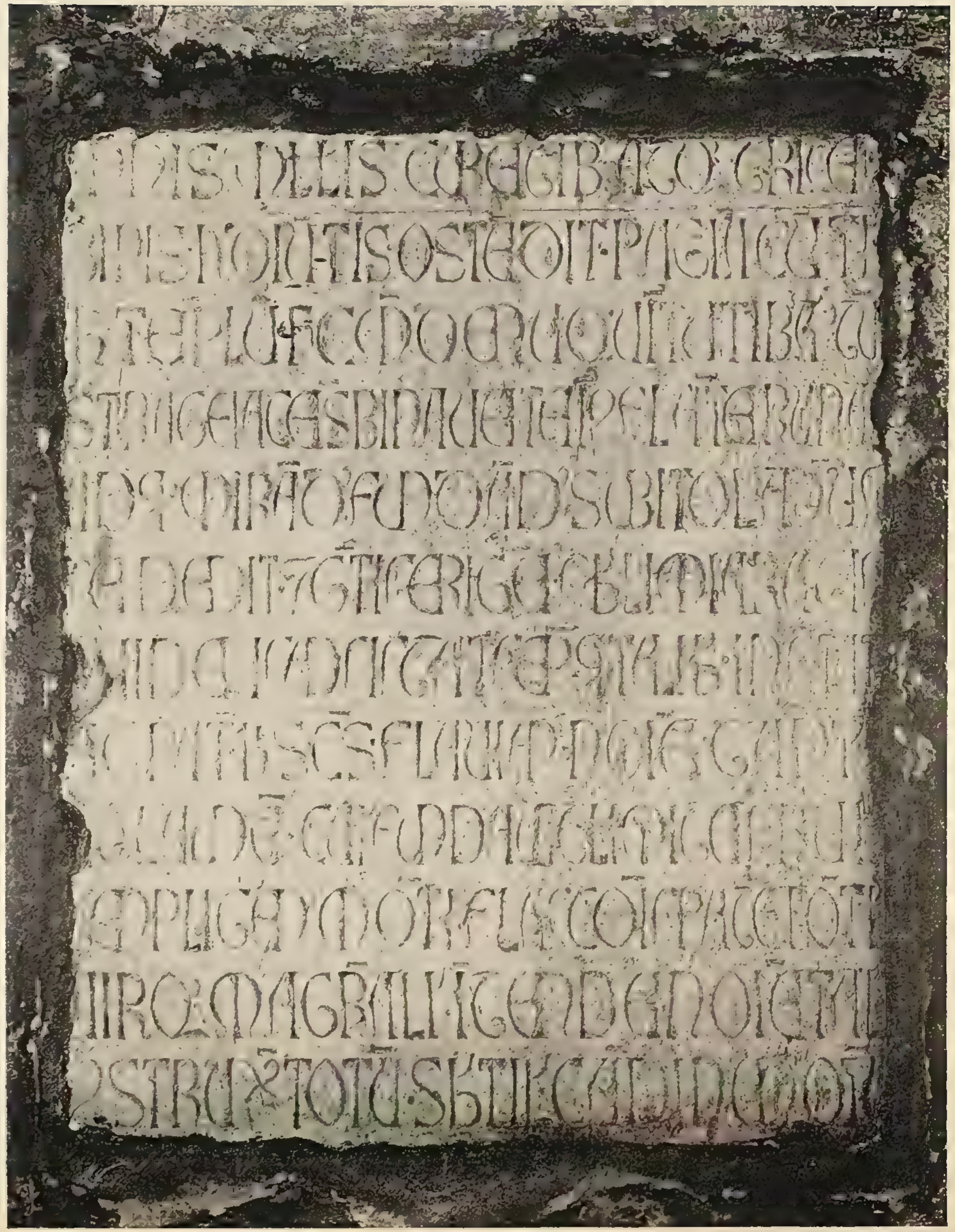
To the obvious question why, if this happened once, it did not happen oftener, the obvious answer is that it could not happen except where figure-sculpture was permitted and while the ways were open: that is, after the reconquest in northern Spain and before the fall of the Eastern Caliphate, say, roughly, from about 1170 to 1220.

The kindly reader, who in the opening paragraphs of this study was aware of vaguely remembering the poem of *My Cid*, by now is less vaguely beginning to recall his early Kipling, to know that "Cabul town's by Cabul river" and that a colonel's son once "led a troop of the Guides"; for there, where half-Greek potentates once recognized a frontier, and the great Arab emperors after them, there lastly British imperialism has tried to bridle a restless border-land, all for the sake of what the geographer calls "the great marts of central Afghanistan"; and the same blind forces that brought men from England to the Khyber Pass in the nineteenth century, were taking Moslems to the Castilian upland in the twelfth. Like Compostela and Rome, Gandhara lay upon a pilgrim road, and thence a great art passed to China first, but later into Spain; and of the hybrid Greco-Buddhist sculpture of the first centuries after Christ, grafts were set and stocks transplanted, eastward and westward, from Pacific even to Atlantic waterways.

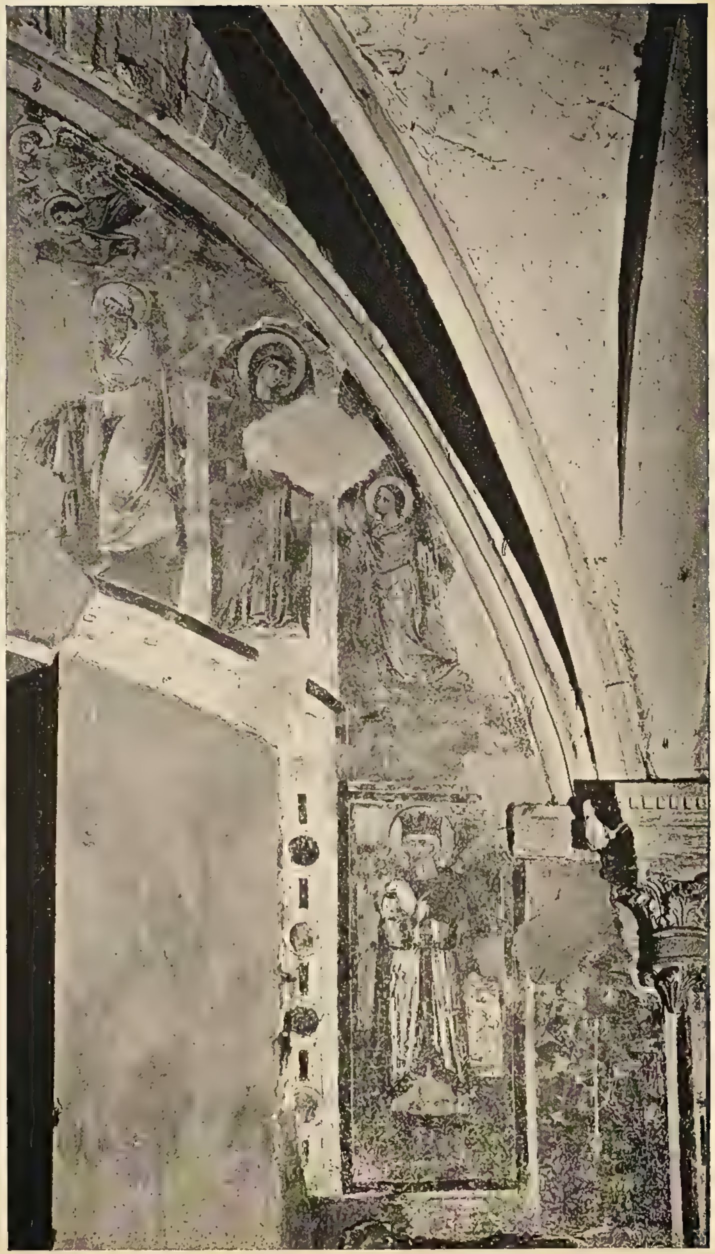
[1] Cf. *L'Illustration*, Nov. 22, Nov. 29,1924, especially pp. 490–495.

[2] Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29.

PAINTINGS OF THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY IN THE CHURCH OF S. FLAVIANO AT MONTEFIASCONE



1. Inscription of 1302



2. Announcement of the Virgin's Death. (Fragment)

PAINTINGS OF THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY IN THE CHURCH OF S. FLAVIANO AT MONTEFIASCONE

By RAIMOND VAN MARLE

ROME possesses few works of the school of Cavallini; they are fairly rare in the rest of Lazio, and it is only around Viterbo that we find a certain number. In the town itself there are no real productions of Cavallini's school. A niche to the right in the church of Sta. Maria Nuova is adorned with a fresco of the Crucifixion, and some figures of saints, partially repainted, showing the date 1293, which might be classified as a Roman work,[1] but it does not bear a strong resemblance to Cavallini's manner of painting.

However there are some Cavallinesque works in Tuscania, formerly called Toscanella. On the entrance wall of S. Silvestro, in the town itself, we find a fresco belonging to this tradition: it represents the Saviour crucified on the mystic tree of S. Bonaventura, and some other figures. The grandiose fresco of the Last Judgment on the chancel arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore, with the Annunciation and Assumption at the sides, is obviously a production of Cavallini's school, as are also some figures on the last pillars and other fragments throughout the church. Although of inferior quality, a fresco of three high officials — perhaps senators — in the crypt of S. Pietro seems also to belong to the same artistic movement.

To the north of Viterbo, at the gates of Montefiascone, a very important series of frescoes of the beginning of the fourteenth century is preserved in the church of S. Flaviano, a building well known in the history of architecture, but whose mural decoration has been little studied. It is only in the last few years that the greater part of these frescoes has been discovered under the whitewash.[2] On the façade wall inside the church, a stone slab is inscribed with the date of the reconstruction of the building. The date on this slab, which formerly was found on the outside of the church, was wrongly deciphered by Rivoira and his interpretation has been accepted by a great many students of the history of architecture. This mistake, which dates back to the time of Seroux d' Agincourt, is of the utmost importance, since Rivoira used it to found the hypothesis that vaults of a more or less Gothic form existed in Italy as early as the first half of the eleventh century because he read the date on the slab 1032.[1]

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[1] A. Muñoz, *Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.* (1916), p. 131; R. van Marle, *La peinture romaine au moyen âge* (Strasbourg, 1921), p. 184.

[2] Signor F. Hermanin, in P. Egidi, G. Giovannoni e F. Hermanin, *I monasteri di Subiaco*, vol. I (Rome, 1904), p. 515, informs us that the façade and right wall are adorned with frescoes reminiscent of Pietro Lorenzetti's manner and dating from the time of Urban V (1362–70); but, as we shall see later on, they belong to an earlier period. L. Salotti e L. Codini, *Montefiascone nella storia e nell'arte*, Grotte di Castro (1909), make a brief mention of these paintings. Signor Antonelli, honorary inspector of Fine Arts, has described some of them in *Cosmos Catolico*. A short account of these frescoes is to be found in my *Development of Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. V, p. 350.

Although other writers have already pointed out that the vaults cannot possibly date from this period,[2] the date, 1032, on the inscription seems never to have been doubted.

The beginning of the inscription reads: *Anis Mills curegib' Atq' trice binis* (Fig. I), and this has always been transcribed as: *Annis Millis currentibus atque tricenis binis;* but there is no reason whatever why the fifth word should not be taken as meaning three hundred instead of thirty, which would then give us the date 1302. I should add that anyone who is even in the least degree familiar with the history of the form of letters could never believe that the characters of this inscription date from the first half of the eleventh century. They are Gothic letters of a fairly advanced period, and the year 1302 corresponds perfectly to their form.

This question about the date is of great importance to us because the rest of the inscription tells us that it was at this moment that the church was rebuilt, and it was doubtless on this occasion that the paintings which still adorn its walls were executed. As we shall see, they are probably a few years later, dating in all likelihood from about 1310. All the paintings to which I shall refer are found in the lower part of this strange building where, as in S. Francesco of Assisi, there are two churches, one above the other.

I have no intention of dealing with the paintings of the Umbrian school which decorate the left wall and the chapels in this wall. For the greater part they are votive frescoes of no importance. In the large chapel in the left wall near the entrance, however, there are some very damaged frescoes worthy of mention, for they can be classified as productions of the school of Pinturicchio. Here we find traces of a Massacre of the Innocents on the altar wall, and the Saviour, angels and some beautiful ornamentation in grisaille, with heads in medallions, in the vault.

In the frescoes of the beginning of the fourteenth century I recognize three different hands, two of which belong to the school of Cavallini, while the third seems to be of Tuscan origin. The latter is not a real Giottesque artist, although he must have seen some of Giotto's works. His style of painting betrays a knowledge of the great Florentine's art in his second manner, that is to say, after the Franciscan cycle in the Upper Church, Assisi; and as we have to admit that a certain time elapsed before this style of the master

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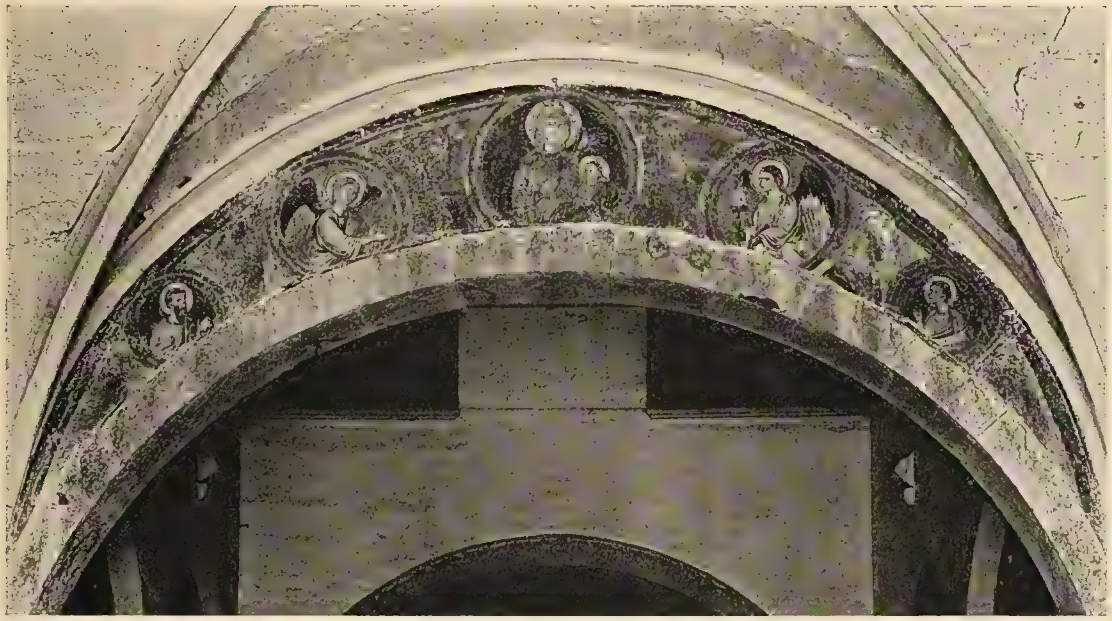
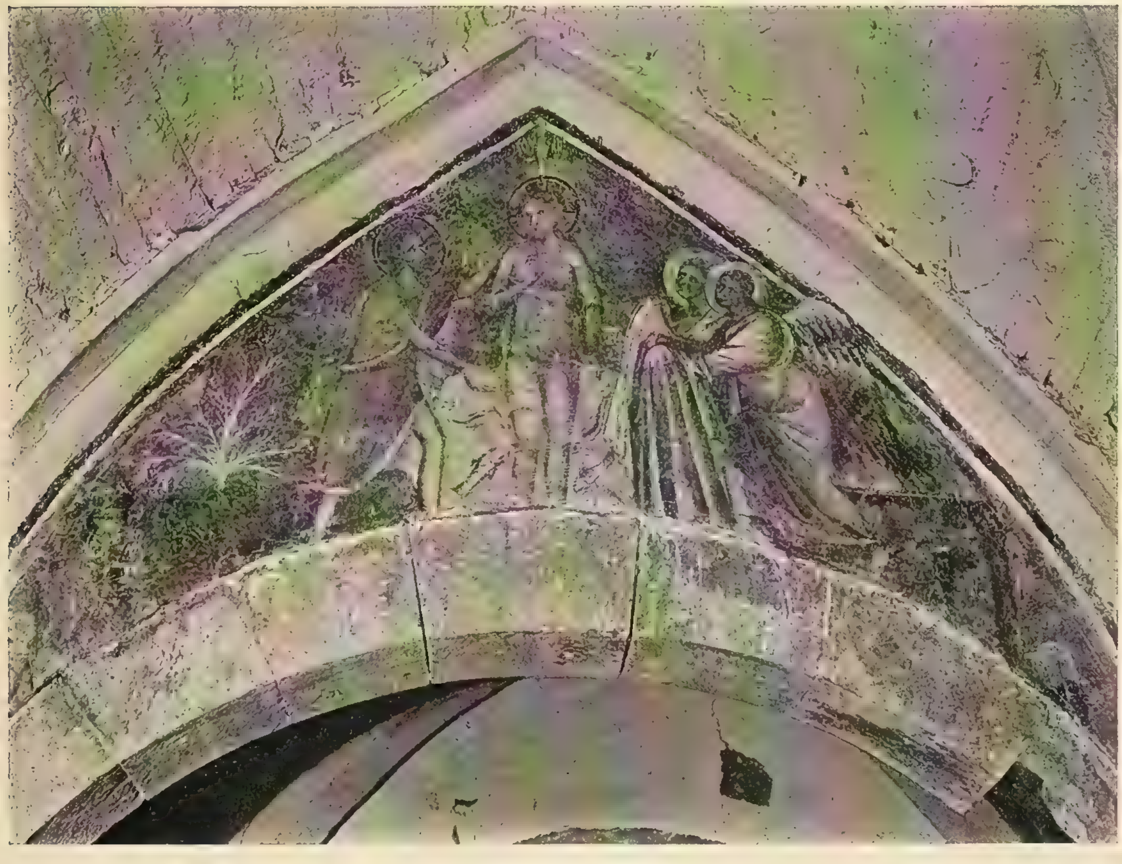
[1] G. T. Rivoira, *Le origini della architettura lombarda,* (Milan, 1908), pp. 259 and 276.

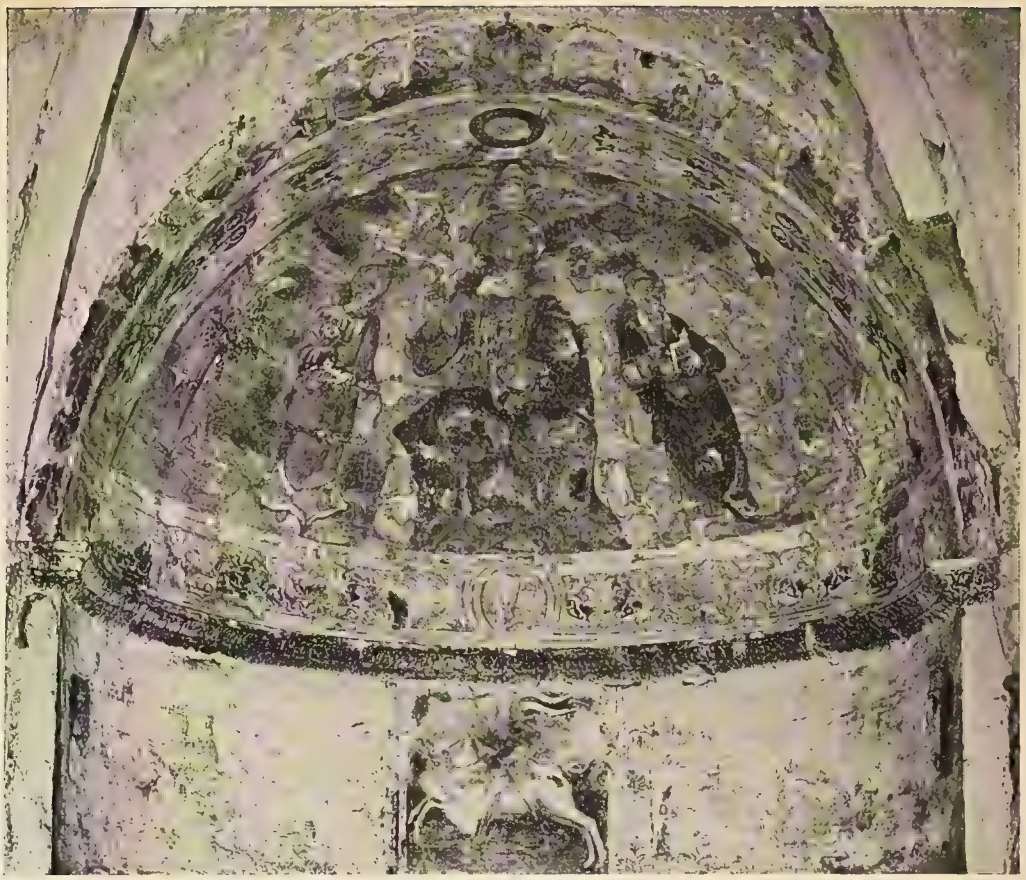
[2] E. g., A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture,* vol. III (New Haven and Oxford, 1917), p. 63.



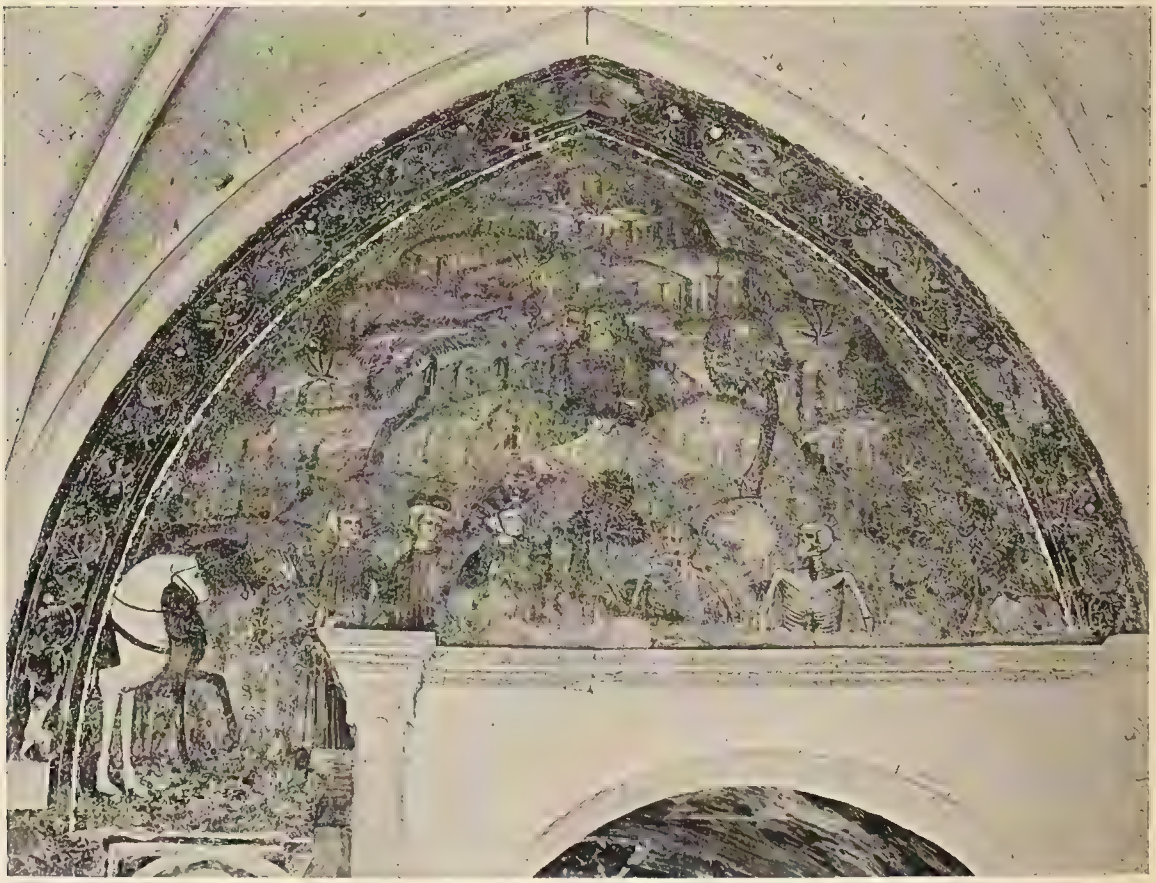
3. Decoration of the Central Arch



4. Baptism of Christ



5. Apsidal Fresco



6. Triumph of Death

found provincial adherents, I think that we should date the artist's activities here from about 1310.

Of the two Cavallinesque painters, one is considerably superior to the other. The drawing and colors of the better artist are much finer, while the technique of his poorer colleague is coarser, his forms more Byzantine than we generally find in Cavallini's school, and the effects of chiaroscuro rather violent.

The productions of this second Cavallinesque artist and of the Tuscan intermingle on two different occasions, which proves not only that their activities were contemporary, but that they actually worked in collaboration. I think it quite likely that the third artist was active about the same period.

Above and to one side of the entrance door we find some remains of frescoes from the hand of the better of the two adherents of Cavallini's manner. Of the principal representation over the door, only the parts to the extreme left and right remain; they show some figures of apostles and angels descending toward the centre, which would correspond to a composition of the Dormition of the Virgin. It is true that we find no angels in Cavallini's mosaic of this subject in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, but they are seen, for example, in the mosaic in the Martorana in Palermo. Moreover, the presence and attitude of the apostles confirm this hypothesis, as does also the little scene which is depicted to one side. Here the Madonna is represented standing in a doorway while an angel kneels before her, holding a palm branch — a detail which differentiates the announcement of her death from the Annunciation (Fig. 2).

We discern the hand of the same artist in two frescoes over the central arch, and in another painting to the right of the division which separates the first from the second part of the church. The first of these pictures shows us a very old composition: five medallions containing half-length figures of the Virgin, two angels, and two saints, intersected by candlesticks (Fig. 3). A similar decoration is seen in the mosaic of the ninth century in Sta. Prassede, Rome. The fresco to the right depicts the Baptism of Christ, Who is shown standing in a river in which fish are swimming about, — an equally old iconographical detail, — while two angels hold His clothes (Fig. 4).

Since this artist was faithful to very old iconographical traditions, it was perhaps he who executed also the fresco of the apse, which in its present condition retains nothing of its original appearance but the composition. The Saviour is portrayed in the centre, enthroned between SS. Peter and Paul, while a little palm-tree is seen at either extremity of the fresco (Fig. 5). The painting as we see it now is not older than the end of the fifteenth century; the ornamental borders, too, seem to belong to this period, but the composition is that which adorned the apse of the old basilica of St. Peter's in Rome and which we find still in a mosaic of the first half of the fourth century in one of the niches in Sta. Costanza. For this reason, it seems possible that the fresco of the apse and perhaps also those of the arches date from the foundation of the church of Montefiascone, which takes us back to a very early period, because the church is mentioned in a bull of Leo IV (847–855); if this be the case, the decoration was repainted later. In the lower part of the apse there is a damaged representation of a holy knight on horseback, probably St. George.

To the same artist I attribute also a fresco high up on the left wall, depicting the Triumph of Death (Fig. 6). It is one of the oldest Italian paintings of this subject so frequently repeated in later years.[1] Here we have one of the instances when the two painters, the Tuscan and the Cavallinesque-Byzantine, worked together on the same wall; for the Annunciation which occupies the space above is certainly from the hand of the Tuscan artist, while the rest of the decoration is by the other. But the frescoes are sequential because, below the Annunciation by the Tuscan master, the Cavallinesque artist has depicted the Nativity and, lower down, the Adoration of the Wise Men (Fig. 8); in a niche to the side we see, above, the Saviour in majesty, between SS. Peter and James (Fig. 9), and, lower down, four figures of saints, among whom we can recognize St. Paul. Of the decoration of the lowest row only the figures of two bishops, no doubt the donors, remain visible to the right; close to one of them we see a coat of arms in which the escutcheon is half black and half white, with a lion's head on the white field.

The same painter executed the frescoes on the left of the entrance wall (Fig. 10). Here we see, above, the Lord crucified between the Virgin and St. John, and two holy women, one of whom is crowned, at the sides. In small divisions to the right and to the left are represented the Virgin of the Annunciation kneeling at a *prie-dieu* and turning round as if the angel stood behind her, and St. Helen carrying the cross (Fig. 11). Lower down, there are six scenes from the legend of St. Catherine, divided by a window on the embrasure of which a figure dressed in red and holding a sword is depicted. The scenes are represented without any order. The story begins above to the right, where the saint is shown disputing with the Emperor Maxentius. Adjacent we see the conversion of the empress, while the saint is in prison; the fresco which shows us the empress listening to the saint's words, at a window of the prison, is not in accordance with the *Golden Legend* which relates that she visited St. Catherine in prison. Below this scene is depicted

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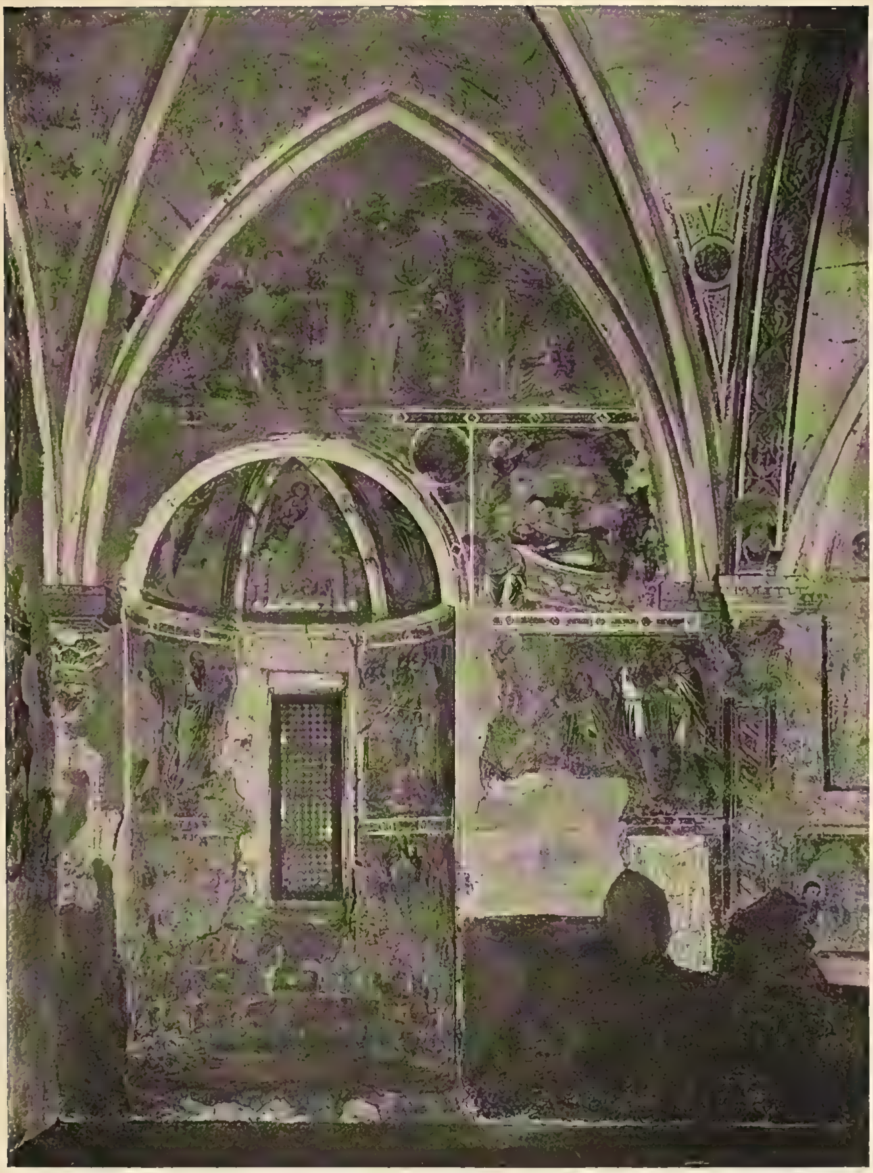
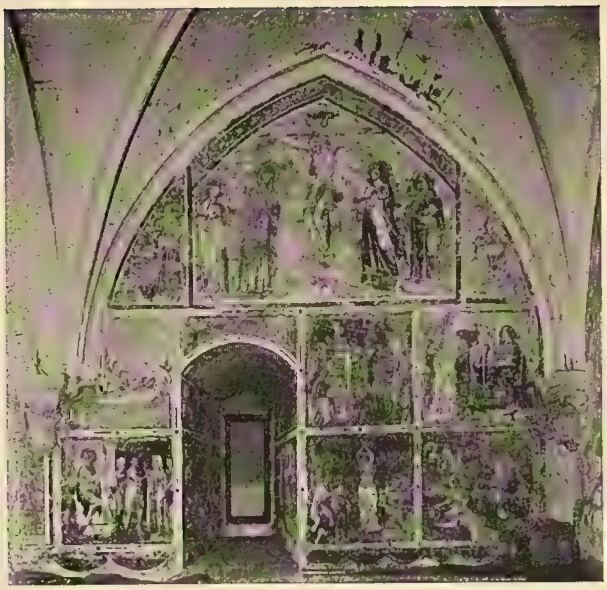
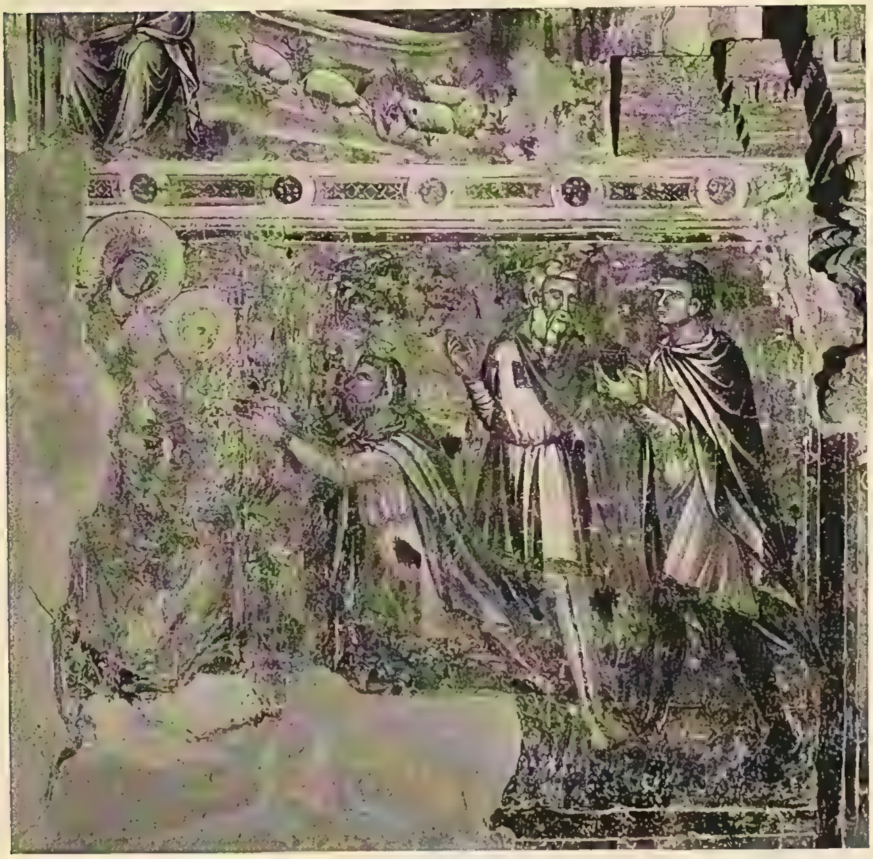
[1] Another almost contemporary painting of this subject is the fresco, also executed under the influence of Cavallini's manner, in the chapel of the cemetery of Poggio Mirtete in Sabina. A much older representation, dating from about 1260–1270, is that which we find to the left of the choir in the cathedral of Atri.



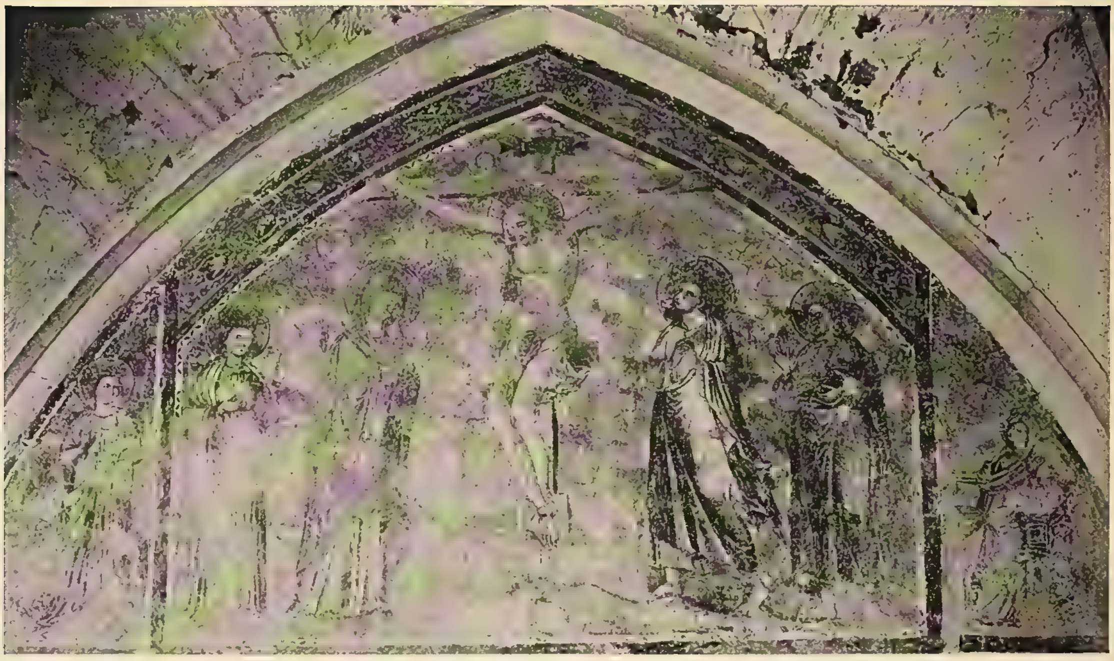
7. Inside of the Façade, right



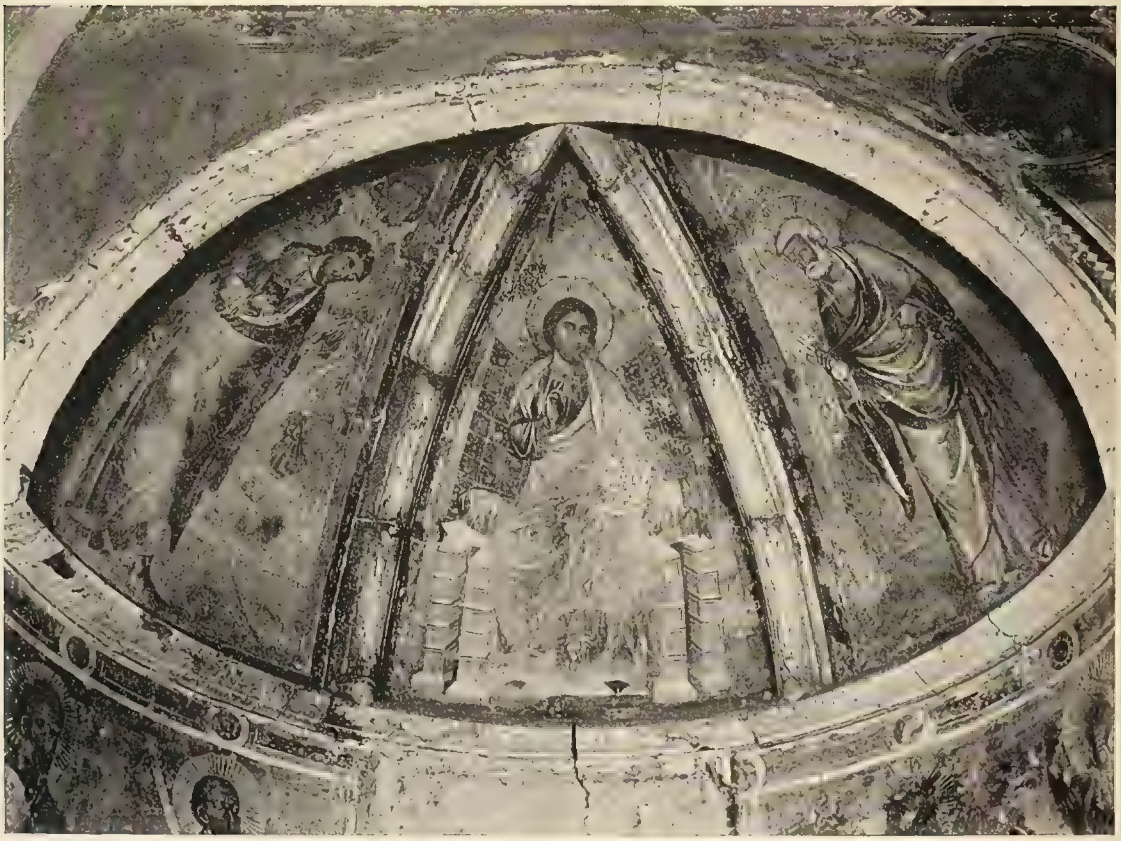
10. Inside of the Façade, left



8. Adoration of the Magi



11. Crucifixion



9. Christ between St. Peter and St. James

the miracle of the wheel which, about to dismember the saint, was overthrown by an angel. On the other side of the window we see St. Catherine's breasts torn from her body (Fig. 12), a torture which St. Agatha also underwent, and which is generally depicted in connection with this saint. The last fresco below shows the beheading of the saint, and the first above, to the left, angels burying her on Mount Sinai. Only a few fragments remain visible of the last two paintings.

Lastly, we find the hand of the same artist in the last row of frescoes which adorn the first piece of wall to the right (Fig. 13); here he depicted two groups of saints and a scene from the legend of St. Nicholas. The decoration which we find on this wall offers us another example of the collaboration of the Cavallinesque-Byzantine and Tuscan painters, for the three other events which illustrate the life of the same saint have been portrayed by the Tuscan master. Of the first group of saints — the one on the left-hand side — the first figure is almost entirely effaced; the second is crowned, and holds as emblem a little vase from which a flame issues — perhaps it is one of the Wise Virgins; the third, also crowned and holding a little cross, is St. Helen, beside whom we see St. Michael weighing the souls with his right hand and killing the dragon with a lance which he holds in his left hand (Fig. 14). Then follow St. Catherine, St. George, and another crowned figure carrying a receptacle emitting a flame. Nearby is depicted the scene of St. Nicholas arresting the sword of the executioner, who is about to behead an innocent man (Fig. 15); the legend mentions three innocent persons, and in this detail the Giottesque artist, who executed the frescoes in the St. Nicholas chapel in the Lower Church, Assisi, is faithful to the text.

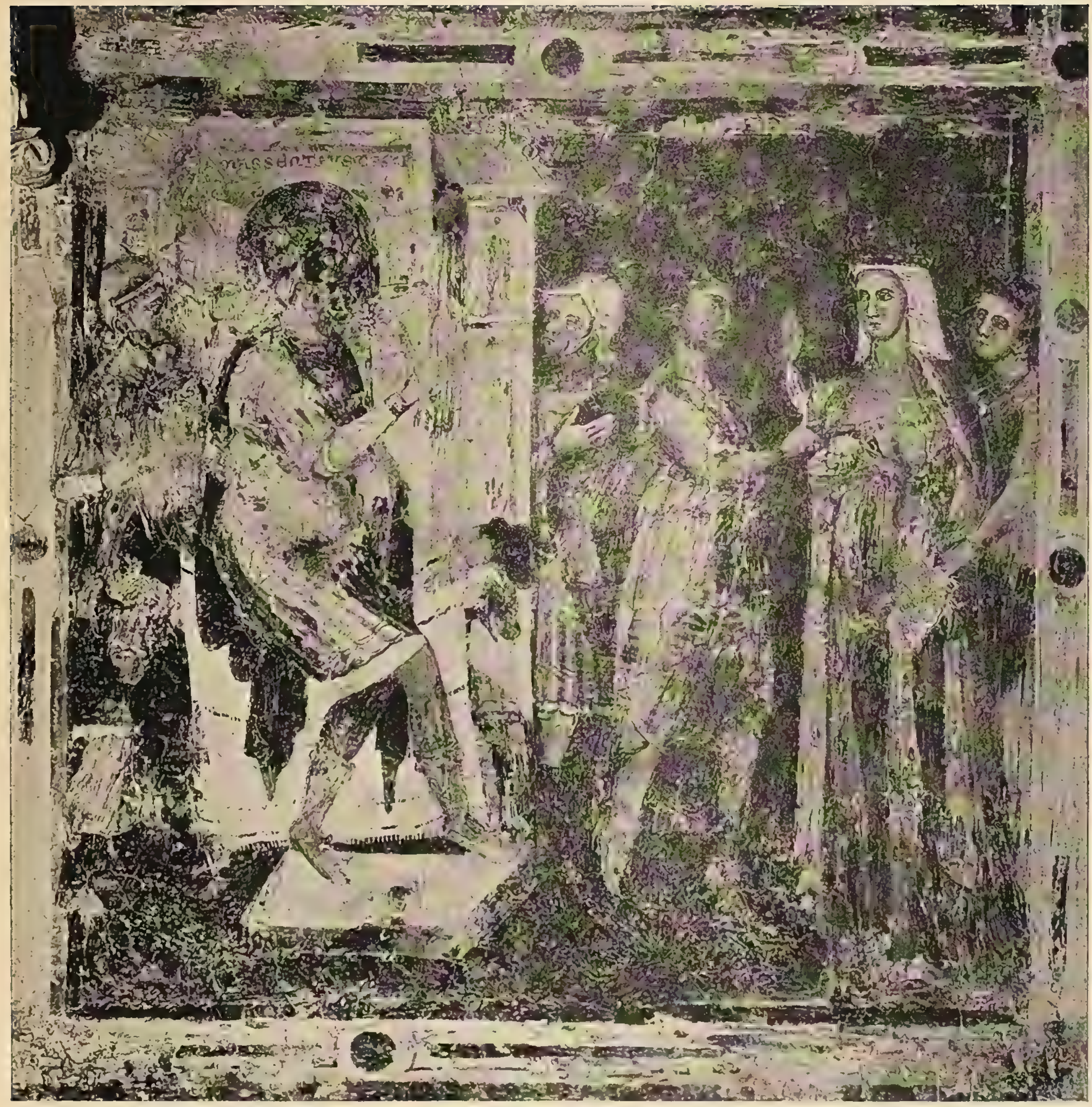
We now come to the works of the third artist, whom I have described as a Tuscan more or less influenced by Giotto. As I have just said, he worked on the same wall, where he painted, in the upper part, a Crucifixion, a crowded composition between two medallions containing half-length figures of prophets holding phylacteries (Fig. 16). A beautiful frieze, with other medallions, separates this painting from the second row which comprises the three scenes from the life of St. Nicholas; we see the saint passing gold in at the window of the destitute father with three daughters, and St. Nicholas restoring to his family the little boy who has been the slave of a pagan prince (Fig. 17), while the third scene illustrates that part of the legend which relates how the devil, disguised as a nun, gives magic oil to some sailors, telling them to smear it on the walls of the saint's church; but St. Nicholas comes to them, and orders them to throw it away. Again the painter diverges from the text of the *Golden Legend*, for, instead of showing us the nun approaching the ship in a small boat, he depicts her standing in a doorway on the shore.

On the wall adjacent there were several frescoes, but only one of them remains in a good state of preservation. It represents, under a beautiful ornamental border, the Virgin enthroned, holding the Child standing on her knee, in the midst of four saints. Below the figures to the left, we read the names of SS. Catherine and John; the latter, who might easily be taken for a woman, holds an inscription. The first figure to the right, who is dressed as a deacon, seems to have a stone on his head and consequently must be St. Stephen; by his side is depicted another crowned figure holding a flaming receptacle (Fig. 18). This painting bears a strong resemblance to the works of the Tuscan master, but I feel more inclined to ascribe it to a helper. Of the other frescoes on this wall, only some fragments of the Saviour on the Cross, between two saints, can be recognized.

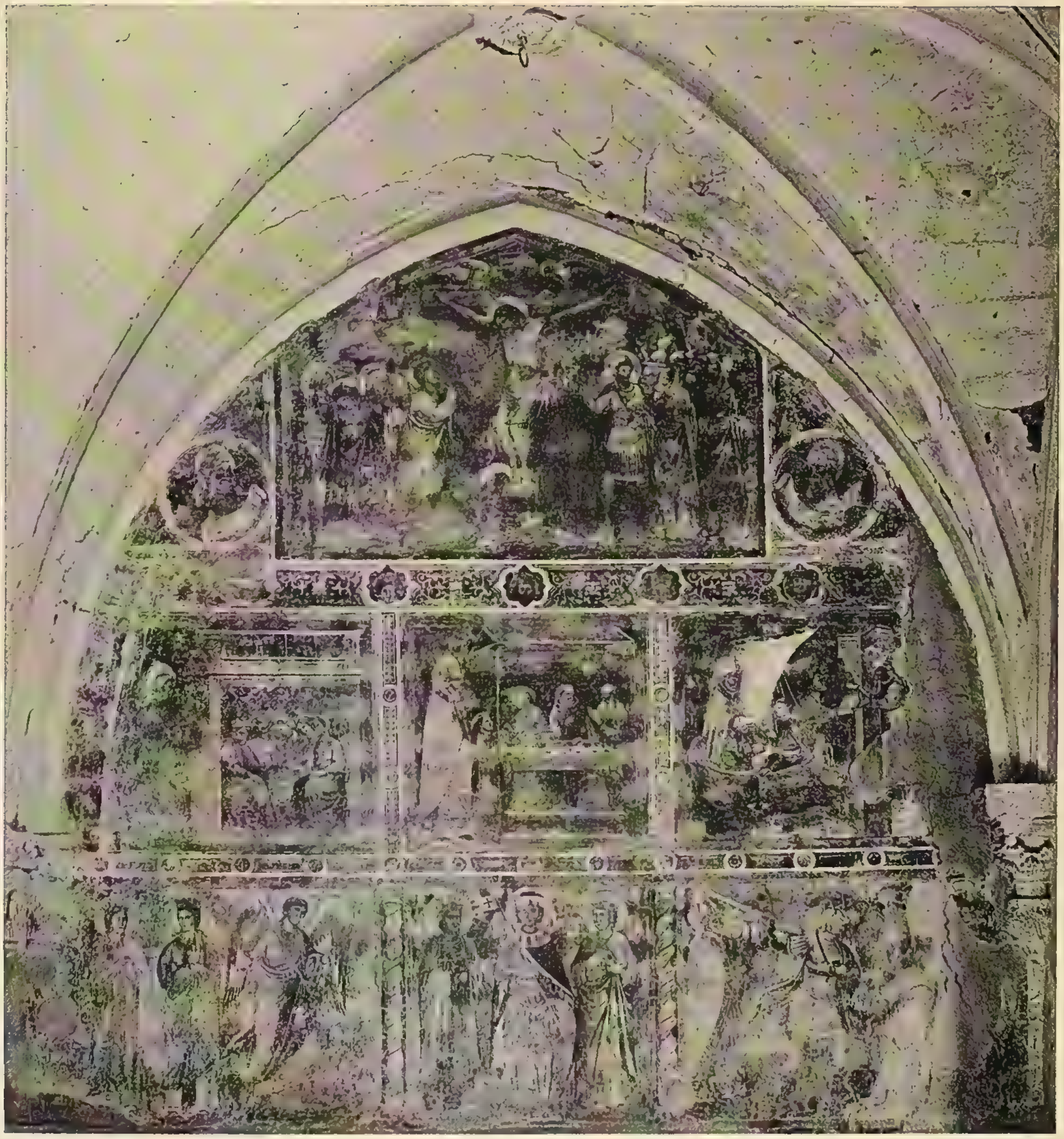
I shall finish my description of the frescoes in S. Flaviano with a few remarks on the connection which exists between them and the works of Giotto, of Cavallini, and of their schools.

That the morphological types of the two painters whom I have classified as Cavallinesque really resemble those created by the founder of this school has no further need of confirmation than a comparison with the authentic productions of the master; we find the same round shape of the faces with dark shadows, the piercing eyes so characteristic of Cavallini, and those pronounced plastic effects in the forms which, as I have said elsewhere, seem in the master's art to be the result of a study of sculpture. The better of the two Cavallinesque painters who worked at Montefiascone was much more influenced by the aesthetic principles of the master than the other, whose proportions and forms are archaic and more Byzantine, reminiscent to a certain extent of the style of Torriti and other Roman painters who, although working contemporaneously with Cavallini were, however, much more conservative.

But this artist whom I have qualified as Cavallinesque-Byzantine also borrowed his types from Cavallini; we observe this in almost all the faces, but it is particularly evident in the figures of Christ and St. Paul which adorn the niche on the entrance wall; one might even call them bad imitations of those of Cavallini depicted in his mosaic in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. The Madonna in his Crucifixion bears a resemblance to the figure in the apse of S. Giorgio in Velabro, Rome. In his composition too, we discover elements which approximate him to the great Roman master: the pieces of architecture, for example, in the scene of St. Catherine in prison go back to the painting of Christ before Pilate and the Calvary in the Cavallinesque cycle of frescoes in Sta. Maria di Donna Regina in Naples; while the throne on which Maxentius is seated when he presides over the torture of the saint



12. Martyrdom of St. Catherine



13. Crucifixion; Six Scenes from the Life of St. Nicholas; Saints

is almost identical with the Virgin's throne in Cavillini's mosaic of the Annunciation in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Yet another example which might be cited is the close similarity of style that exists between the decoration of the back of the Saviour's throne in the niche in the façade wall and that seen in Cavallini's frescoes of the history of Isaac and Esau in Assisi.

From an iconographical standpoint, the resemblance is less striking. Of the two Christological scenes, one, the Adoration of the Magi, is very different from the mosaic that Cavallini made of the same subject, while the Nativity shows a certain correspondence, but this is rather due to the fact that the representations of this event which Cavallini and his adherents executed, as well as that at Montefiascone, belong to a very common iconographic type.

As I have already remarked, the proportions and drawing of our artist are more reminiscent of the members of the Roman school of painting who remained faithful to the Byzantine tradition. The forms are long, the oppositions of light and shade rather brusque and primitive, and the drapery markedly conventional; a part of the garment of a very conventional form floating behind the figure which we see in the St. John of the Crucifixion, the St. Michael and the executioner in the scene from the legend of St. Nicholas, is found, for example, in the sacrifice of Abraham, which a pupil of Torriti's executed in the Upper Church, Assisi.

The other Cavallinesque artist worked more after the great Roman master's style. His drawing is finer, his forms more pleasing, and in his paintings there is almost a complete absence of Byzantine elements. In some of his figures, particularly in those of the Triumph of Death, there is a certain tendency toward immobility, a feature which is noticeable, but to a much less degree, in Cavallini's own works. In the types of his faces he follows the master still more faithfully than the other Cavallinesque artist. The angels in the medallions of the arch and in the scene of the Baptism simulate those that Cavallini painted in Sta. Cecilia. It should not be forgotten that palm-trees are found in Cavallini's composition in the apse of S. Giorgio in Velabro, as well as in the Cavallinesque series of frescoes in Naples; but, as I have already stated, it is difficult to establish the date of the original decoration of the apse at Montefiascone, which might be considerably older.

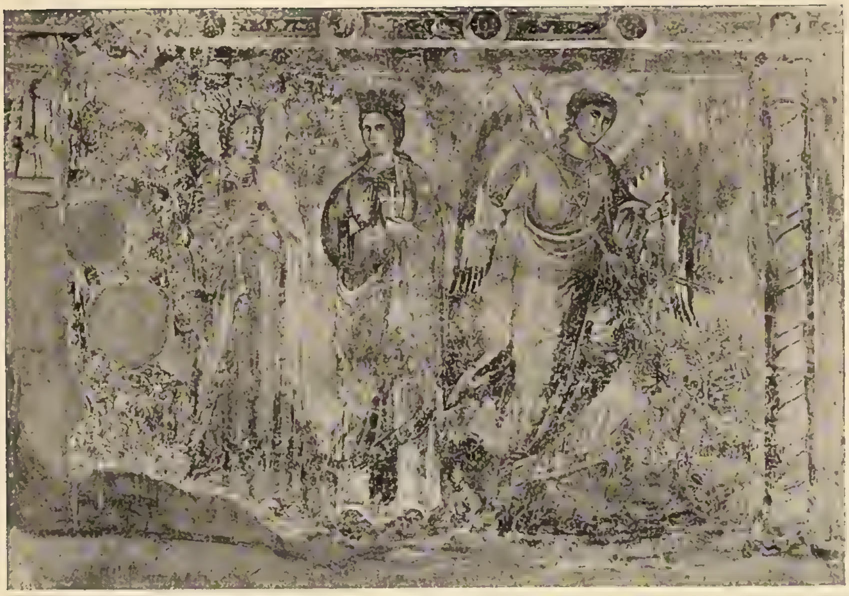
It should also be noted that the decorative friezes are thoroughly Roman in style. The garlands with "putti" supported by similar little figures (Figs. 6 and 7) closely resemble those which adorn the vaults and groins of the Upper Church in Assisi, and the wreaths themselves are of a design similar to those we find in the decoration of the "Sala dei Notari" in Perugia, which was executed by a direct follower of Cavallini. Lastly, the spiral columns used as a division between the frescoes, as we see it on the façade wall and even more perhaps on the wall at the right-hand side (Figs. 7 and 13) is a motif which appears in the works of Cavallini, or at least in those of his school, such, for example, as the mosaic in the church of S. Crisogono. Giotto employed this method of separating his frescoes in the works of his most Roman period, namely, the Franciscan cycle at Assisi.

We find no trace of any of these details, in that part of the decoration which I ascribe to the Tuscan painter, influenced by Giotto. The difference of artistic temperament between these two artists, who nevertheless worked in close collaboration, is so great that on the right wall, where we find productions of the one under those of the other, they even framed their frescoes in a different manner. Instead of spiral columns, the Tuscan painter separates his frescoes with a design imitating Cosmatesque mosaics. The frieze below his Crucifixion, which is adorned with medallions containing heads, is reminiscent of the decoration of the vaults of the Arena chapel in Padua, or of that surrounding the Giottesque frescoes in the Lower Church, Assisi. Open balconies such as we see in two of the scenes from the legend of St. Nicholas and the isolated piece of architecture in the third are very characteristic of Giottesque compositions.

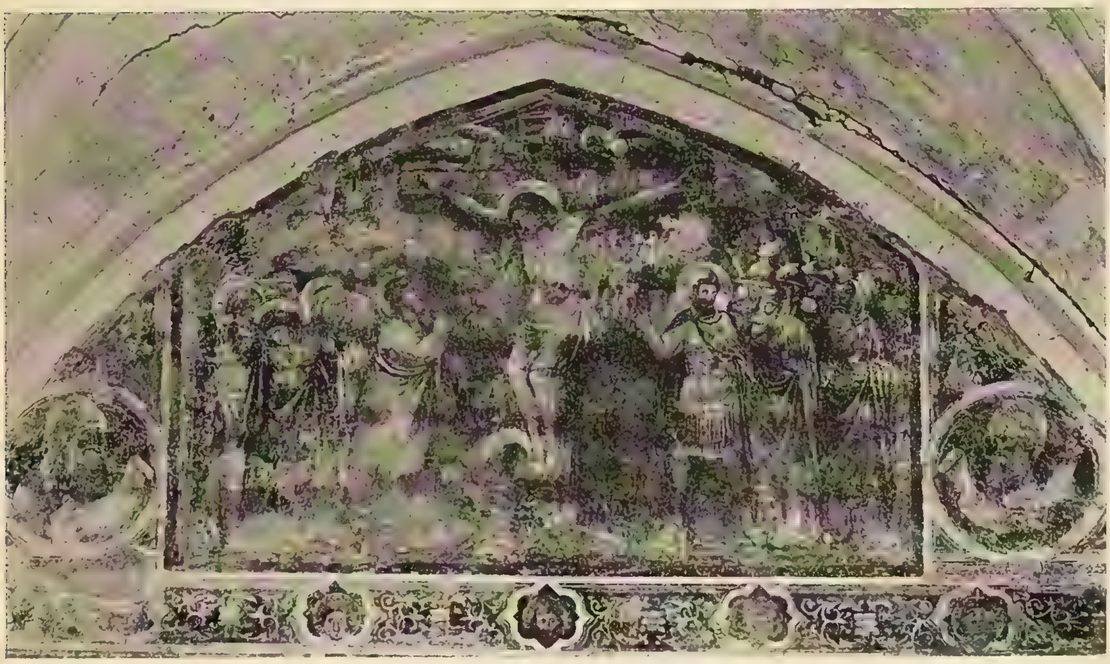
Iconographical elements originating from the same source will be noticed in the frescoes of the Crucifixion and Annunciation. The former, with its numerous figures, Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross and the Centurion, making a gesture, well to the fore, is a thoroughly Giottesque picture and forms a marked contrast to the sober representation on the other wall by the Cavallinesque-Byzantine master whose artistic principles are those of the preceding generation. The Annunciation reminds us, before all, of Taddeo Gaddi's panel of this subject which forms part of the long series of paintings from the lives of Christ and St. Francis in the Accademia, Florence, only Gaddi does not show the servant eavesdropping. Also in the scene of St. Nicholas restoring the boy to his parents, there is a certain resemblance to the fresco of this subject that a Giottesque artist painted at Assisi. The monk who is depicted in the centre behind the table recalls certain figures of Giotto's cycle in the Upper Church.

On the other hand, there are many elements in these paintings which belong to pre-Giottesque art, and it is for this reason that we cannot classify the painter as a true adherent of the great Florentine's school. We do not observe in his works either that profound understanding of the dramatic, or that sober realism, of the true Giottesque artists. The figures are inanimate and the drawing is still very schematic and traditional.

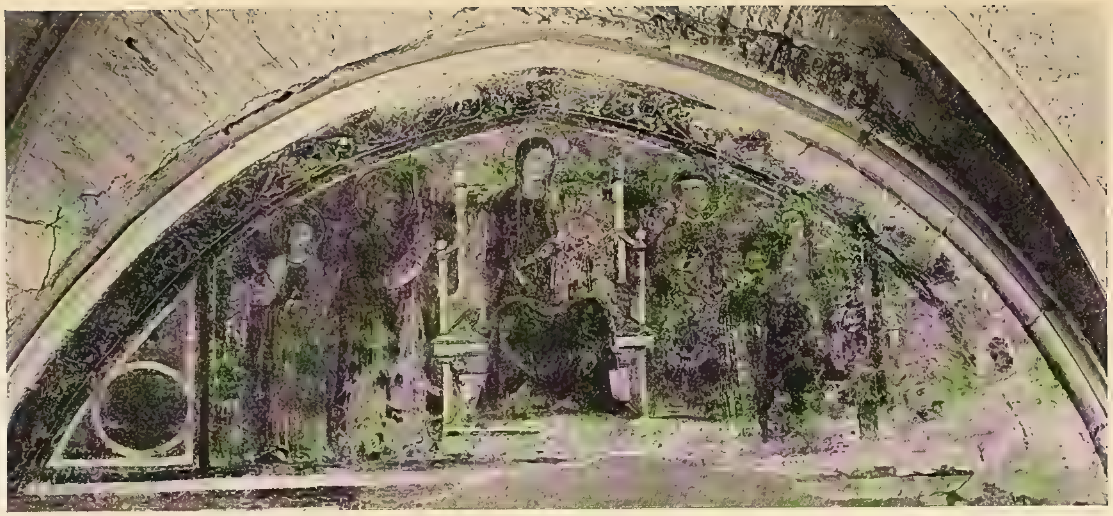
That period of transition during which the *Dugento* still continued its existence while the *Trecento* had already shown signs of life is well exemplified in the frescoes of S. Flaviano at Montefiascone.



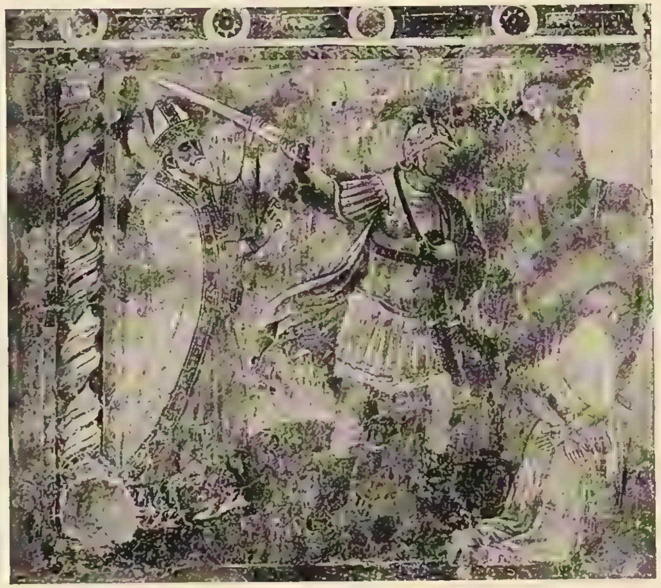
14. Four Saints



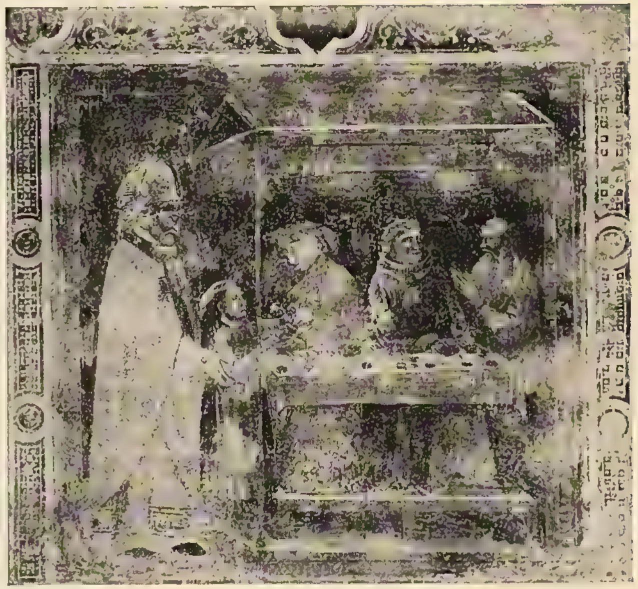
16. Crucifixion



18. Madonna and Saints

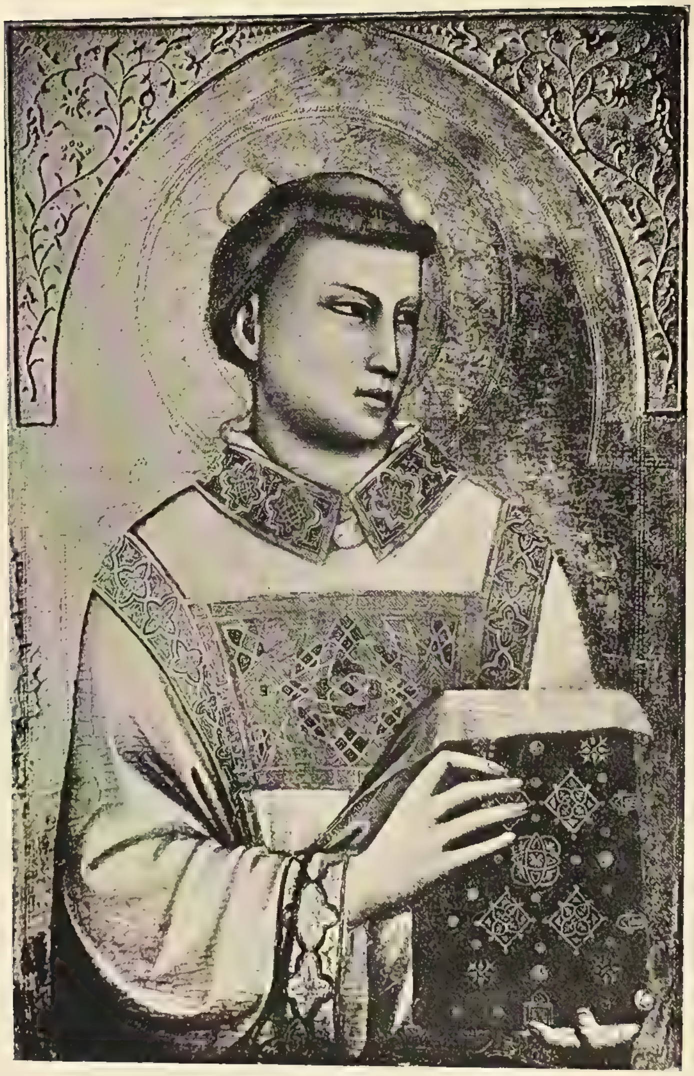


15. Scene from the Life of St. Nicholas



17. Scene from the Life of St. Nicholas

TWO ATTRIBUTIONS TO GIOTTO



1. Fondazione Horne: Panel: St. Stephen

TWO ATTRIBUTIONS TO GIOTTO

By FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

I

The Goldman Madonna

About twenty years ago, in his marvellous attic in Lung' Arno degli Archibusieri, the late Herbert P. Horne proudly showed me his latest acquisition. It was a half-length St. Stephen (Fig. 1) resplendent in gold, cinnabar, and sharp green. He then believed it to be by the painter of the Baroncelli altar-piece — an immediate assistant of Giotto. None of Horne's possessions ever aged badly in his hands, and it does not surprise me to learn from Van Marle's third volume of *The Schools of Italian Painting* (page 164) that Horne ended in the conviction that the panel was painted by Giotto himself, perhaps for the Badia.

Two years after Horne's death the fine connoisseur, F. Mason Perkins, published the panel as a rather late work of Giotto, dating it between 1315 and 1320.[1] Van Marle (*loc. cit.*) accepts the attribution, observing that the panel preserves "the extreme neatness of the Paduan period," showing, however, "much more relief."

A few years ago Mr. Henry Goldman of New York brought under the attribution Bernardo Daddi, a singularly noble half-length Madonna (Fig. 2). Dr. W. R. Valentiner in his catalogue cites and accepts this attribution as from Mr. Berenson. It represents a first impression which Mr. Berenson soon matured into his present view, communicated to me verbally, that we have to do with a gifted *anonimo* working under Giotto's immediate influence.

It has apparently escaped all observers that these two magnificent panels originally formed part of one altar-back. This is proved by the dimensions. The Madonna measures .865 x .638 m.; the St. Stephen .84 x .54 m.[2] Apart from which, the simple dotted border in three lines is the same in both panels: it makes the same intersections and turns in, in horseshoe fashion, where the arch begins to spring. Finally, the very large and distinctive crackle is identical in the two panels. In Figs. 1 and 2 they are arranged in their proper proportions and relations. There evidently must have been at least three more saints, one of whom was St. Stephen's almost inevitable partner, St. Lawrence; and there may have been five more. The decorative importance of the Madonna, which is only slightly emphasized by her inch and a half of greater height, was probably enhanced by a tabernacle; smaller tabernacles or simple gables probably crowned also the panels bearing the saints.

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[1] *Rassegna d'Arte*, vol. XVIII (1918), p. 39.

[2] So in the Catalogue of the Fondazione Horne. F. M. Perkins (*loc. cit.*) reports the height as .82 cm. I use this in proportioning the cuts, since a smaller measurement is nearly always right.

Evidently the two panels are by one hand; I believe, by Giotto's. Who else at the moment commanded that extraordinary indicating line which serves both as line and shadow and is really neither, but a marvellous abstraction or accent pregnant with the required mass? Who else could make the tug and break of drapery tell so simply and convincingly of the underlying structure? Who else could evoke a sweetness so magisterial, an existence at once so self-sufficient and so benign? I prefer to rest the case on the broadest grounds of general construction and spiritual attitude, but a minute study of the features will, I am sure, confirm the unanalyzed impression. A few parallels from the sure work of Giotto and from work which he doubtless directed are suggested in a note.[1] From them the reader may form his own opinion. If it should be favorable, there will be no quarrel as to general date. The work is far from Padua and from the great Madonna of the Uffizi. Mass is now attained in effortless fashion — is, though equally persuasive, less insisted on. The torso of the Child established in its firm roundness by minimum indications of shadow is Giotto's most successful expression of the nude — a passage entirely beyond the powers of such competent imitators as Bernardo Daddi or Taddeo Gaddi or the various *anonimi* in the master's *bottega.* The urbanity of the mood is that of the frescoes of Santa Croce. Giotto is mellower, more accessible to sentiment, than he was in strenuous years of research now past. He is as grand as ever, but less tense and more accomplished. The mood is that of Santa Croce and of the chapel of the Magdalene at Assisi. It seems entirely probable that this is one of the four altar-pieces by Giotto which Ghiberti saw in Santa Croce, the signed Baroncelli altar-piece doubtless being another. The type of St. Stephen with the long face and pointed chin first appears in the Allegories at Assisi, and runs through all the late work. One will find it specifically in the face of St. Francis in the Vision at Arles (Bardi Chapel), and, as school work, in the *predellas* of the signed polyptych at Bologna and the Baroncelli altar-piece. The type of the Madonna has such close relations with the Magdalene Chapel at Assisi

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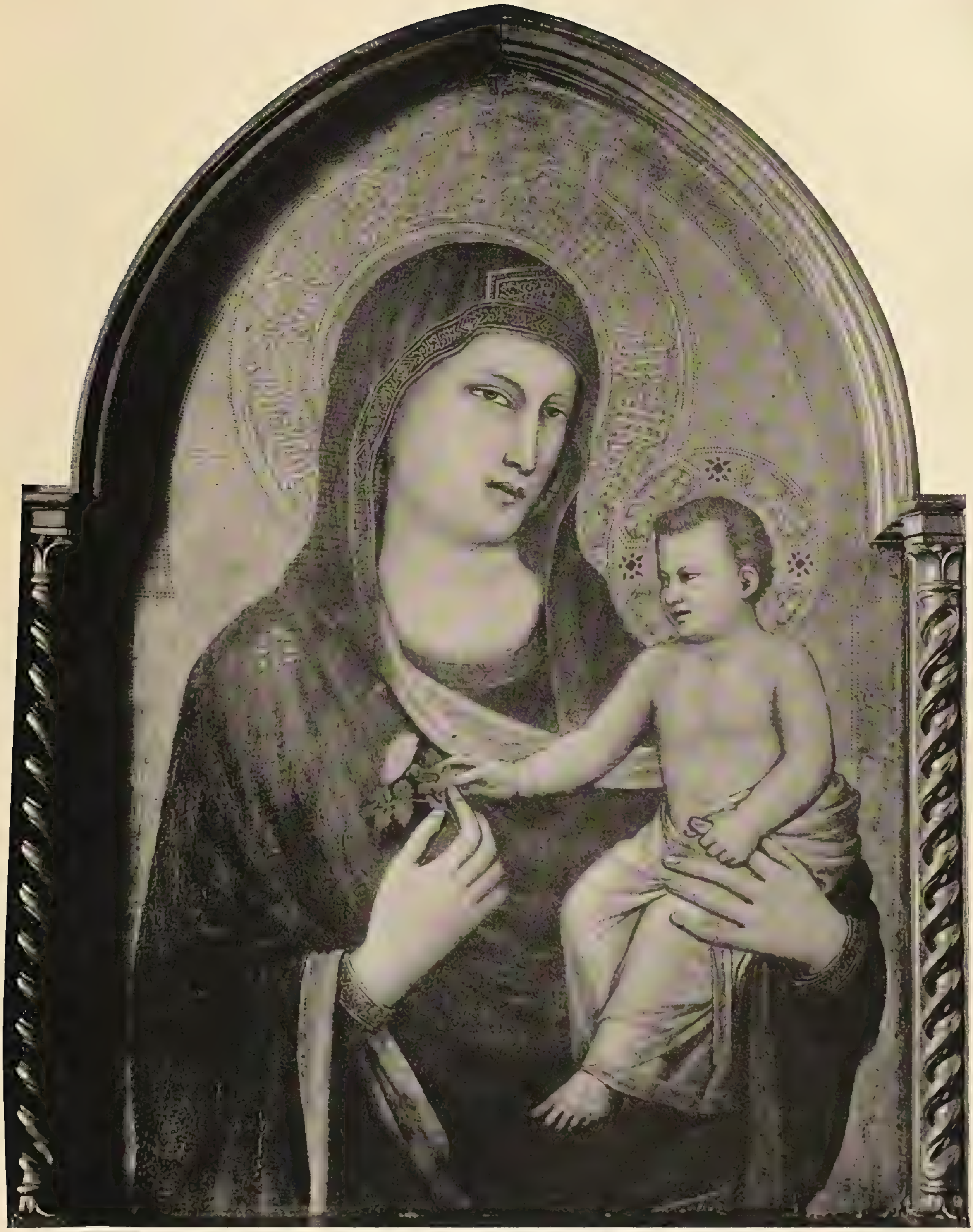
[1] Points of contact with Giotto's work are the alert mask of the Child, identical with that in the signed altarpiece at Bologna; the gleam of teeth between slightly parted lips—in the Ognissanti Madonna (Uffizi), in the angels in the Transit of the Magdalene at Assisi; for the general build of the Madonna's head, the gigantic Magdalene at Assisi. Not having seen the St. Stephen for many years, I did not list it for Giotto in my *History of Italian Painting.* Since then I have restudied it carefully, and feel sure that, as in the case of the Madonna, we have to do with the designer of the frescoes at Santa Croce and in the Magdalene Chapel, Assisi. The merit of the execution also finds no parallel in the works of Giotto's *bottega.*



2. The Goldman Madonna

(which I believe to be essentially Giotto's and decoratively, as in fair condition, the best, nay, the only evidence we have for his late fresco style) that it cannot be far from these Assisi frescoes in date, say 1325–1330.

II

Portrait of a Franciscan Author

In a recent visit to my friend Bernard Berenson, I had the surprise and the pleasure of seeing in his rich collection a portrait of a Franciscan which to him and to me seemed unmistakably a Giotto (Fig. 3). He has graciously permitted me to publish this important piece. I include it here because it runs so closely with the St. Stephen and because the difference between the two heads shows so eloquently Giotto's variety of attitude as he is creating a type or working in the direction of portraiture. The two figures are equally realized as form, but the Franciscan is more fully realized as surface, more invested with half-tones, more credible as a personality. It is not drawn quite like the average Giotto, the usually linear shadows are somewhat heavier and broader, but it has an energy both of outer form and of inner life which only Giotto commands.

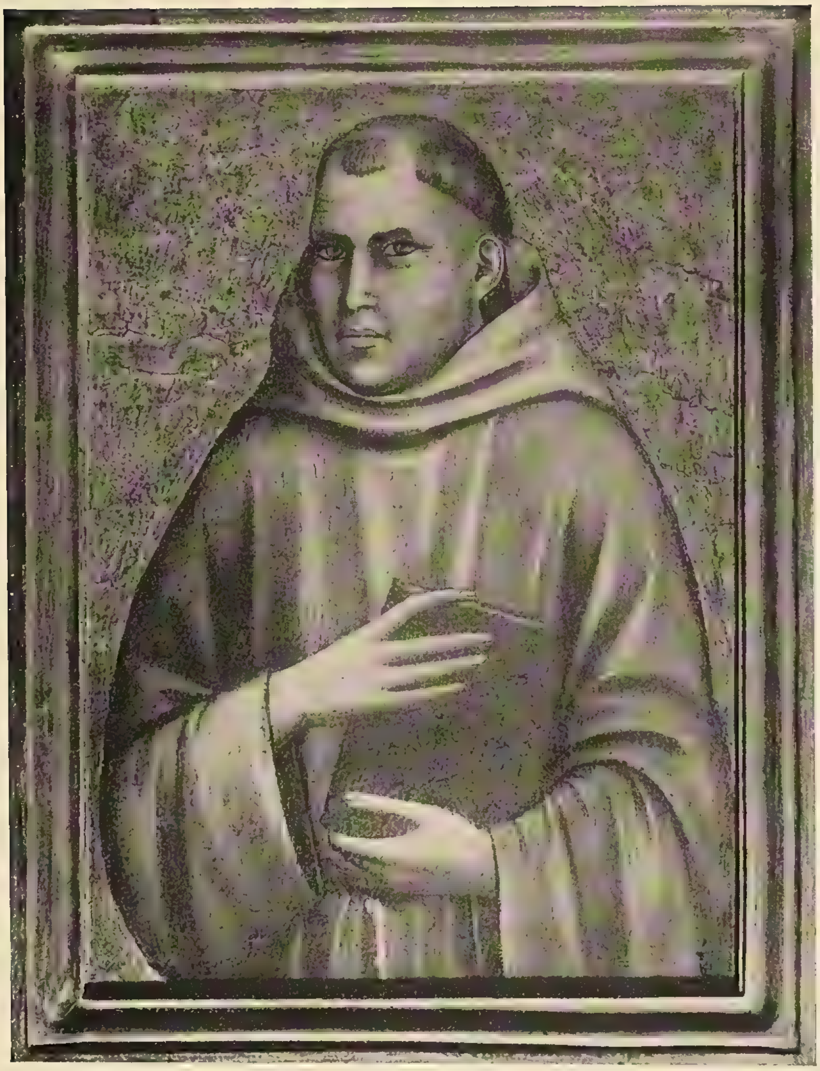
I am not going to try to prove that it is a Giotto. Indeed I believe it entirely futile to prove any first-class attribution. It is a question rather of experiencing immediately and vividly the expressiveness of certain forms. It is easy to prove second- and third-rate attributions. One should not go wrong on a Bonfigli, a Taddeo Gaddi, a Bissolo, a Mariotto di Nardo, a Barnaba da Modena, an Andrea Vanni. Here it is merely a question of patient collation of mannerisms, and painters of this grade amiably supply to the connoisseur an abundance of mannerisms of the most betraying kind. Here is the place for parallels and argument and demonstration.

It is not so with the great artists. They lack mannerisms, offering, instead, style — style that is quite various according to the kind of meaning it conveys. So, mere sabre strokes are enough to set on foot the entirely typical figure of the first Christian Martyr, while all manner of nuances and superimposition are required to give the more individualized, if still rather typical, character of this Franciscan scholar.

Yet the two works accord in the faces, in the hands, in the draperies — are of the same style. Now this apprehension of a particular great master's meaning through his style is purely intuitive and gets its validity only from a long and successful experience of such intuitions. It is essentially a mystical and unrationalized process of recognition. We see, not the forms, but through the forms the master. The forms of the greatest masters are usually entirely simple and accessible. Nothing is simpler than the forms of Giotto, of Masaccio, of Leonardo, of Giorgione, of Titian. Anybody can see what they are, and imitate them. What is inimitable is the personal feeling these forms convey. It can be felt by a sensitive person, but it can be expressed only in periphrases and metaphors, and it cannot be schematized for purposes of comparison. One must simply take the risk of avowing the intuition. Hence the paradox that, while it is not permissible for any critic of ordinary competence to go wrong on "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" or Bartolommeo di Giovanni, it is permissible, nay inevitable, that the best critic should occasionally go very wrong on Giorgione, Leonardo, or Titian, such lapses representing moments when his perception of external forms is over-acute but his sense of meanings temporarily in abeyance. So this is a Giotto for me only because it looks and feels like a Giotto; and if I am very wrong, at least I shall err in the grand style.

It is fair to avow a moment of hesitation between convictions. My mind ran naturally to that extraordinary portraitist who was a helper in the last seven or eight stories of St. Francis at Assisi, and I entertained the possibility that we had to do with a work by this master and of this period, about 1300. The reader can easily make the confrontation by turning to Venturi, volume V, figures 231 and 239. The resemblance is more than superficial, but the work in Mr. Berenson's panel is far less linear and more mature. It should not merely be far later than the St. Francis series, but also considerably later than the Paduan frescoes. The closest analogies are in the unfortunately badly repainted Bardi Chapel, and its probable date, 1320 or later, would be right enough for this portrait. I think it not excluded, though also not certain, that Giotto himself may have touched in the portraits at Assisi on occasional trips of inspection from Rome. They could well represent the germ of which the full harvest is this portrait of a Franciscan author.

Who is represented? Surely not a saint, for even if the damaged background be repainted, and I believe it is merely stippled freely, a restorer would not have failed to replace an original nimbus had it been present. We have rather to do with a portrait than with a saint detached from a polyptych. Everything about the composition suggests that it is studied for itself and not for a larger ensemble. Evidently a Franciscan theologian is represented. That eminently untheological order produced after all many such, but the only one whose portrait is likely to have been wanted in Tuscany was Bonaventura, General of the Franciscan order, author of the official biography of its founder, reputed author of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ.* He was canonized and received his title of Doctor Seraphicus tardily, in 1482, but was profoundly and justly venerated meanwhile. Artists who represent him at the foot of the Franciscan Tree — a product of his fancy — do not hesitate to give him a halo. Examples are in the cathedral



3. Berenson Collection: Portrait of a Franciscan Author

at Bergamo; in the chapter house of Santa Croce, by Taddeo Gaddi; in a panel ascribed to Pacino di Buonaguida in the Accademia, at Florence. These entirely generalized figures cast no light on our problem. What search I have been able to make while keeping a long-suffering editor waiting has revealed no authentic portrait of Bonaventura. Accordingly my identification is no more than a surmise; but a fairly likely one, for Giotto had read Bonaventura's life of St. Francis carefully in connection with the frescoes at Assisi and at Florence, and had here and there used the *Meditationes* at Padua.[1]

The interest of these additions to the work of Giotto is that they reveal in pure and autographic form the ample and serene mood of his later years. It is a phase that has, on the whole, been neglected by the critics (though the Chapel of the Magdalene at Assisi might have told the essentials of the matter), because we see the late work chiefly in damaged and repainted frescoes or, at second hand, in panels executed by Giotto's assistants. Accordingly the critics generally have followed the apparently safe but absolutely unjustified course of estimating Giotto chiefly by that Paduan production, which represents a transient and strenuous endeavor — an endeavor naturally relaxed as it achieved success. Von Rinteln has gone to the absurd extreme of ruling out of the canon whatever does not accord closely with Padua — as if Giotto's art had neither beginnings nor capacity for growth! A glance from the Peruzzi to the Bardi Chapel, where quite different systems of composition rule, should sufficiently tell the story of Giotto's versatility, of an experimentalism unabated in old age. Only, in these ripe years research had largely turned from the already well-solved problem of mass to new problems of decoration and of emotional expression. Of this phase the three panels here considered are, I believe, the best epitome. The majestic gracefulness of Mr. Goldman's Madonna goes far to explain why, when Lorenzo Ghiberti wrote, "Giotto brought art back to nature," he added, not at random but with entire appropriateness, "and gracefulness [*gentilezza*] therewith."

III

THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE STEFANESCHI ALTAR-PIECE

The proportions and frame of the much-discussed Stefaneschi altar-piece are virtually identical with those of the signed polyptych at Bologna. The doubled dotted lines echo the contours of the cusped mouldings precisely as in the Goldman Madonna, and those lines make the same turn in, in horseshoe fashion. This can be seen most plainly in Sirén's *Giotto*, Plate 67

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[1] See my note in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XVII (1913), p. 201, and Van Marle, vol. III, *passim*.

(English edition). The expressive small figures in the pilasters of the Stefaneschi altar-piece reappear almost identically in the Dormition of the Virgin at Berlin and in the noble little Crucifixion at Strassburg (Sirén, Plate 105). In passing, it should be said that the quite similar Crucifixion at Berlin (Sirén, Plate 105) is palpably a weakened amplification of the Strassburg panel. Knowing the Strassburg Crucifixion only in small and inadequate reproductions, it would be absurd to say more than that it seems to me a possibility for a late Giotto. The forms are rendered with masterly strength, precision, and simplicity, and the emotion is highly concentrated and sustained without a lapse or superfluity. Returning to the Stefaneschi altar-piece, the God of the Apocalypse, with the two swords issuing from His mouth, — in Italy a most unusual iconographical feature, — is virtually the same above the enthroned Christ of the panel at Rome and the enthroned Madonna at Bologna. In short, the Stefaneschi altar-piece is linked with the later product of Giotto's *bottega* by its carpentry, by its minor ornamentation, and by its figure types and expression.

All this merely reinforces the dating long ago suggested by Venturi and accepted by nearly all the later critics save Supino, who holds to an early dating. Here I merely add a few concrete facts to support a view which has been based on general stylistic effect, and on a tradition transmitted only in the seventeenth century. On the basis of this tradition, 1320 has been usually chosen as the approximate date. From such analogies as are drawn above, a date between 1325 and 1330 is more likely. All critics who set the triptych late have judged that therefore it is not a Giotto. And again, such a view really rests on an instinctive reference to Padua and to the contemporary Madonna in the Uffizi, and on a misunderstanding of Giotto's latest manner. Reference should rather be to the frescoes of the Bardi Chapel, to the design of the Baroncelli altar-piece, to the Dormition of the Virgin at Berlin — to a period when Giotto's ideals are strenuous only as regards decoration, and when, for the rest, he stands on past accomplishment while studying nuances of emotion more closely than he did in days when he was chiefly occupied with the problem of form.

Nothing could be more in the decorative spirit of the Bardi Chapel than the reiterated and almost pedantic symmetry of the Christ in Majesty; nothing more like the fine alert masks of the Franciscans at Santa Croce than the angels adoring the Christ. The portrait of the kneeling Cardinal-donor is again in closest harmony both with Santa Croce and with the portraits in the Last Judgment of the Bargello. The ultimate attribution will rest on the attributor's sense of quality. But the sense of quality will work freely, only if he waives the gratuitous confrontation with Padua; only if, while perceiving the natural similarities, he feels the immense superiority of the work over that of Giotto's known late assistants. Again certain obvious affinities with the work of Bernardo Daddi and of Taddeo Gaddi find their adequate explanation in the fact that it was this phase of Giotto which his Florentine followers imitated. And such superficial similarities fall into their proper insignificance when one asks if at any time Daddi or Gaddi could have made a composition at once so majestic and so emotionally realized as the Christ? Again, superb executants in tempera as were both these men, did they ever achieve a splendor of color at all comparable to that of the Stefaneschi altar-piece? Throughout the work Giotto's guiding hand is palpable to me. I have no doubt that the central panels, front and back, Christ and St. Peter, are autographic. The single figures of the side panels, pilasters, and *predellas* again seem to me of Giotto's invention and mostly of his execution. The two narratives, the execution of the Apostles Peter and Paul, again are typical late Giotto, Giotto of the Magdalene Chapel at Assisi; but here the very able assistant who painted the Crucifixion in the right transept at Assisi may have had the lion's share in the execution. His, for example, are the Mongolian masks of certain soldiers. The slender proportions of the figures are those of the Bardi Chapel and of the Dormition at Berlin.

Since the attribution rests on an intuition of quality, the best and, indeed, the only check is to compare this alleged school-piece with other certain products of Giotto's *bottega* of inferior quality. Here we might make a scale starting at the lower end with the Baroncelli altar-piece. Nobly designed by Giotto himself, the execution has a certain hollowness and the color a lack both of decorative intensity and of constructive value. This is the typical *bottega*-piece — designed by the master but entirely executed by a capable routine assistant who, if not Taddeo Gaddi himself, was at least precisely of his calibre. The Crucifixion at Berlin is just a shade better in quality. At this point, a comparison of the superb angels in the Stefaneschi altar-piece with the merely adequate angels of the Baroncelli panel will be enlightening.

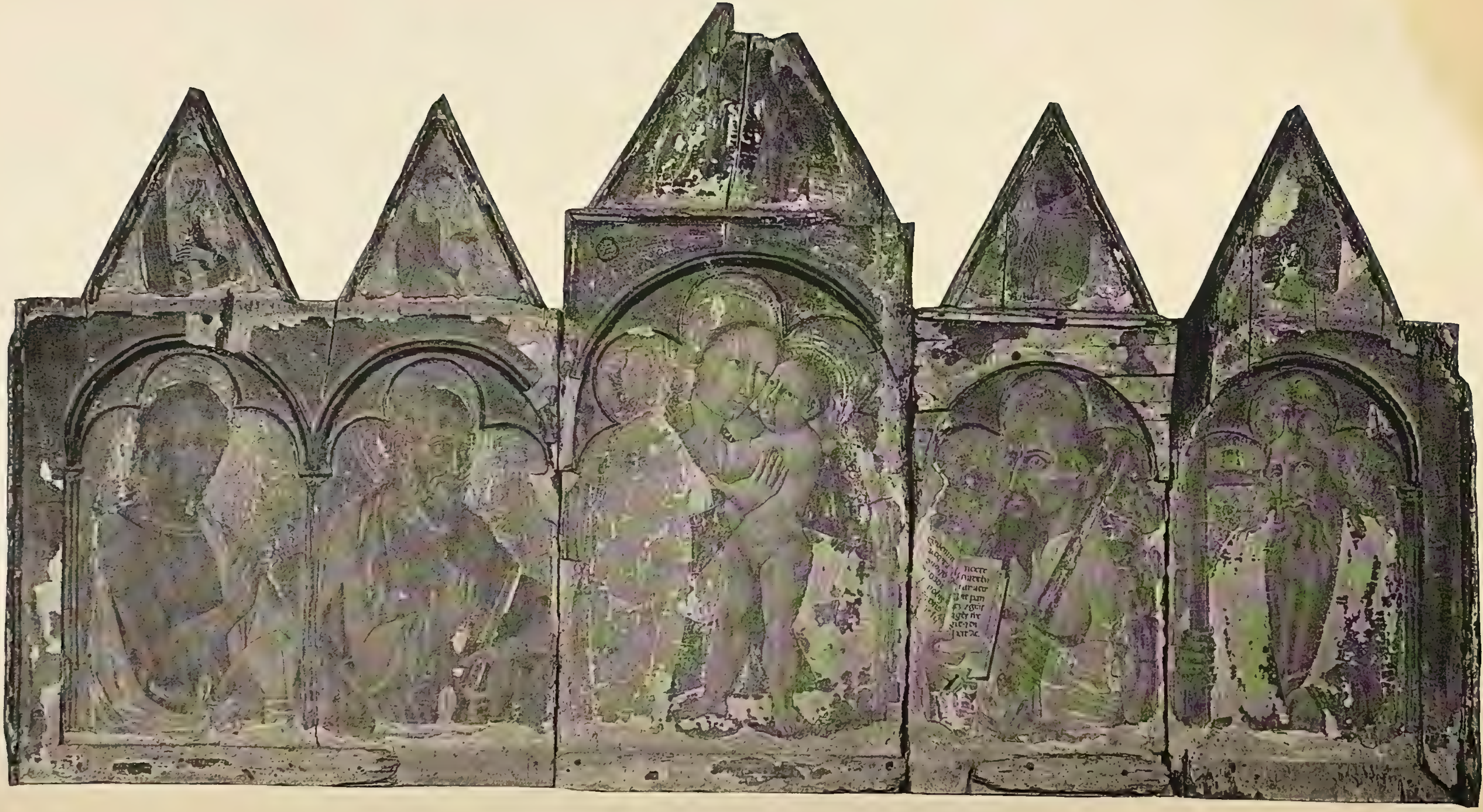
Next, we should rise to the Bologna altar-piece, which is of more persuasive quality as form, probably because the work was more closely supervised. Giotto's own hand may here and there be present, perhaps in the head of the *Bambino* and in one or two of the best heads in the *predella*. This again is a typical *bottega*-piece.

We reach a considerably higher level in the little Passion scenes at New York, Boston, Munich, and Settignano. There is nothing absurd in the attribution to Giotto himself, but the somewhat overt and eager character of the sentiment speaks rather for an assistant of real originality, who may have been left, as an able and dependable person, pretty well to himself in both the composition and execution of the series. Accurately speaking, these are fine school-pieces rather than *bottega*-pieces in the strict sense.

We reach a level impressively near Giotto himself in the Dormition of the Virgin, the Goldman Madonna and her accompanying St. Stephen, the Crucifixion at Strassburg, the Stefaneschi panels — a little group of an excellence unprecedented except in the master himself. Only a very exaggerated caution here stands in the way of the attribution, and that caution seems to rest on a false equation, namely: difference from Giotto about 1305 = difference from Giotto about 1325. Is it not a case for the good old Euclidian climax — "which is absurd"?

NOTE. — When I wrote this article I was unaware that Dr. Richard Offner, in *The Arts* for May, 1924, had already associated the Goldman and Horne panels. The difference in our conclusions illustrates a fundamental difference of method. Dr. Offner stands solely on stylistic evidence; I prefer to temper stylistic evidence by historic probability. When a picture is so great as the one at issue, and so near a great master, the sound provisional attribution in my judgment is to the master himself. To do otherwise is to set up a series of great *anonimi* who have this in common, that all their works but one have perished. Apart from the rarity of great *anonimi*, the uniform reduction of their works to one "gives to think."

AN UNPUBLISHED PAINTING IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE, NEW YORK



1. New York, Cathedral of St. John the Divine: Polyptych

AN UNPUBLISHED PAINTING IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE, NEW YORK

By GEORGE HAROLD EDGELL

It is probably unknown to most people that the cathedral of St. John the Divine possesses a polyptych, hitherto unpublished, by the Sienese master, Giovanni di Paolo (Fig. 1). The painting is in five panels with pinnacles. It is of considerable size. The centre panel is 48 inches in height, the lower part of the panel being 33 inches and the damaged pinnacle 15. The centre panel is 20 inches in width, while the side panels are 13½. Their height, exclusive of pinnacles, is 27½ inches. The whole polyptych, including the frame, is 6 feet 11 inches in width.

The condition of the work is both good and bad. As the photograph will show, it has been badly damaged. Much of the pigment of the body of the Madonna has disappeared, as well as large parts of the coating of the frame and especially of the actual paintings in the pinnacles. On the other hand, what is left seems to be entirely untouched by the restorer. The student may thus study the painting and estimate its value safely, not only from the point of view of the drawing and composition, but also from that of color.

The subjects of the panels offer no difficulty. In the centre is the Madonna and Child. At the left, one may easily distinguish St. Peter with the keys and St. John the Baptist with his shirt of camel's hair. In the pinnacle above St. Peter is St. Agatha, carrying a human breast upon a platter. Above the Baptist is St. Catherine of Siena, an inevitable personage in any Sienese polyptych. At the Madonna's right may be seen St. Paul with his sword, and again, to his right, is St. Andrew. In the pinnacle above St. Paul is St. Francis of Assisi with the stigmata, and above St. Andrew is St. Bernardino — badly damaged, but with the *I.H.S.* and the celestial rays still visible. In the largest pinnacle above the Madonna is the conventional figure of the Redeemer.

It is improbable that any one would dispute the attribution to Giovanni di Paolo. The Madonna, to be sure, is hardly of his usual type, but the Christ Child and the saints are unmistakable. The drawing shows the same use of carefully separated and articulate curves. The skulls are harshly and powerfully modelled, as in all of Giovanni's works. The sinews and veins are exaggerated and, above all, the color is the unmistakable greenish, almost Byzantine, tonality that enters into every one of Giovanni's works.

Conviction will come quickly, if one confronts this painting with the great polyptych in the church of San Andrea at Siena (Fig. 2), painted in 1445. One can easily see the same types in the St. Andrew at San Andrea and the corresponding saint in the New York polyptych. The heads of the other saints also show the closest analogies. They are all of the same family. The head of St. John should be compared with that of the Christ in the San Andrea Coronation, to show how closely the artist has followed the same type in two compositions. One should notice also the rather tortured handling of the draperies and, above all, the careful painting of the veinings of the hands in the works, both at Siena and at St. John the Divine.

There is no inscription which enables us to date the painting in New York. It is certainly not a late work, nor can it, on account of its closeness in style to the San Andrea Coronation, be very early. It must, however, be earlier than the work in San Andrea and subsequent to the Madonna in Glory of the Palazzo Saracini in Siena, signed and dated 1428 (Fig. 3). It is a great pity that the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the church of Servi di Maria at Siena (Fig. 4) should have been so repainted, and especially that the inscription should have been tampered with, for the New York painting has many analogies with this, which is signed and dated 1436. The inscription of the painting in the Servi, however, has been entirely renewed in modern characters. I do not think that it has been pointed out that the signature now reads *Iohannes D. Petri SIS.* Stylistically, there is no doubt that the painting is by Giovanni di Paolo, and yet a modern restorer seems to have found the early inscription so illegible that he mistook the second name and, by a false restoration, ascribed the painting to a mythical Giovanni di Pietro. He may well, therefore, have made a similar mistake with the date, which is even more clumsily repainted, and thus we cannot be sure of the validity of this link in the chronology of Giovanni di Paolo's work. On the analogy of the Saracini painting, however, and of the work in San Andrea, it is probable that the New York painting was done shortly before 1440 — let us say, at a guess, 1438. That it is not later can be proved at a glance when one compares this work with the authentic dated works of Giovanni at a later period, such as the Five Saints in the Gallery at Siena, dated 1453, and the Pienza Pietà of 1463. The heavy, overweighted forms of the master's later style are lacking in the polyptych in St. John the Divine.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to trace at length the history of the painting. It was purchased in Italy by the late Dr. Nevin, of St. Paul's American Church in Rome.[1] Dr. Nevin was a great lover of Italian paintings and colgreat

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[1] For the few details known about the provenance of the painting, the writer is indebted to Canon Robert Ellis Jones, of the cathedral of St. John the Divine. He is glad to acknowledge here his indebtedness to Canon Jones for his helpfulness and courtesy in having the work measured and photographed, and giving such data as were in his possession.

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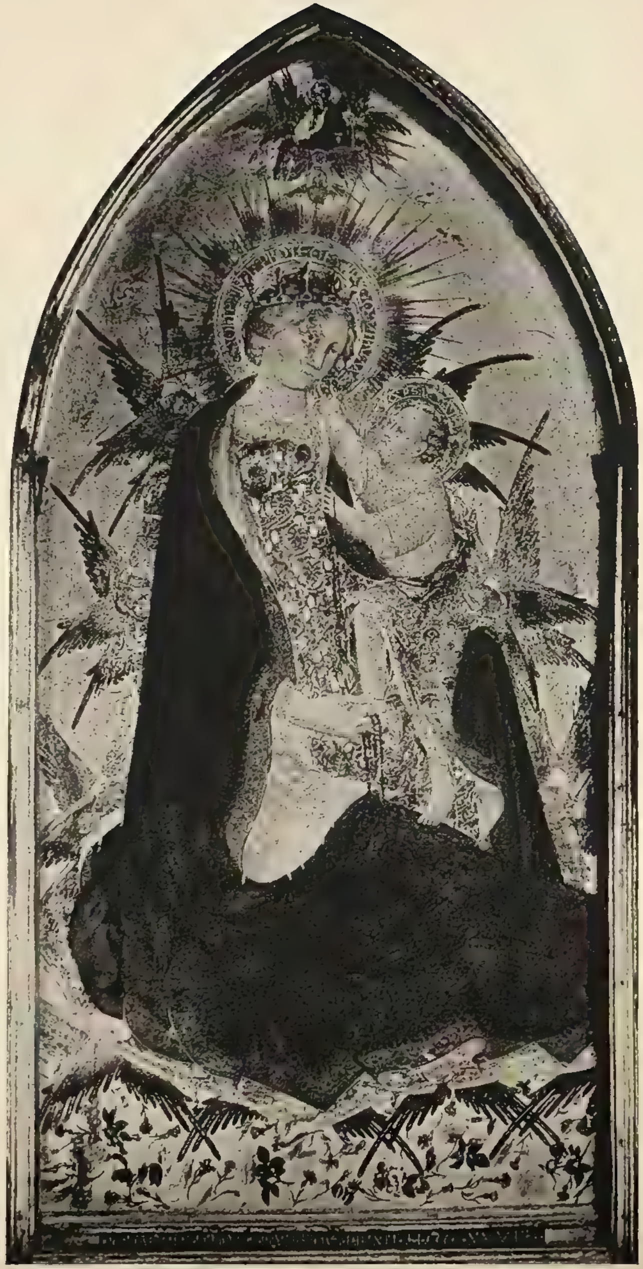
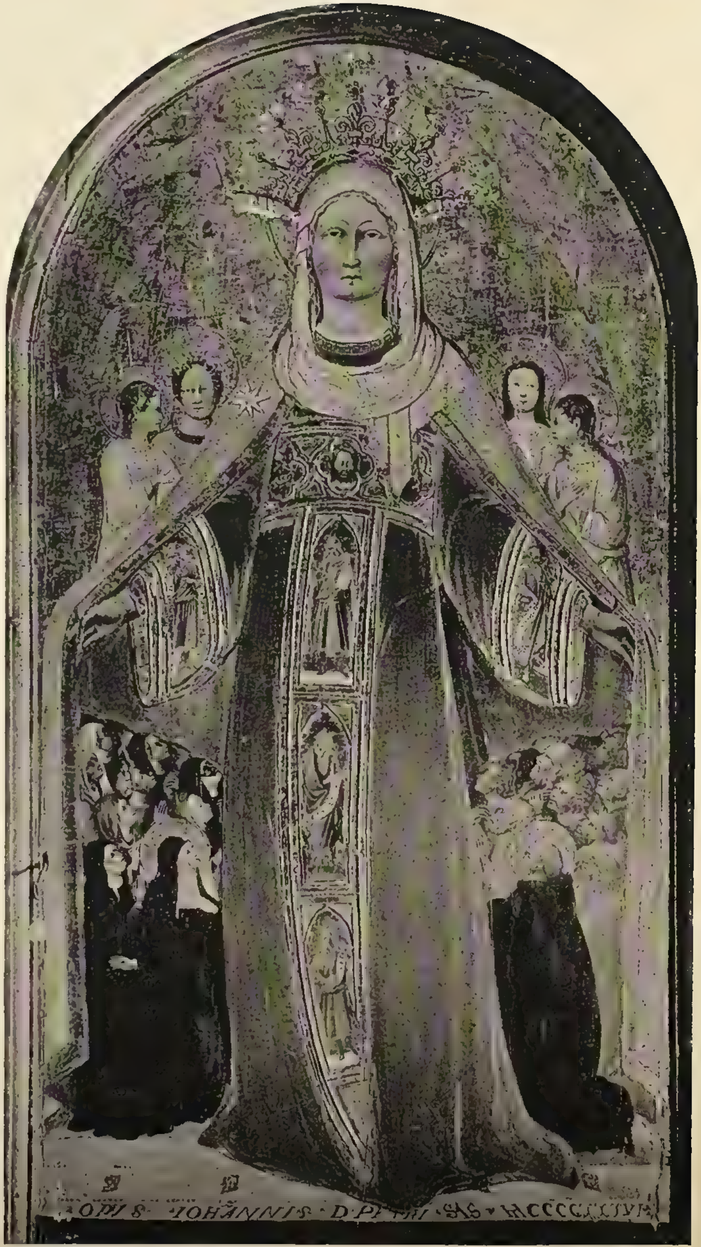
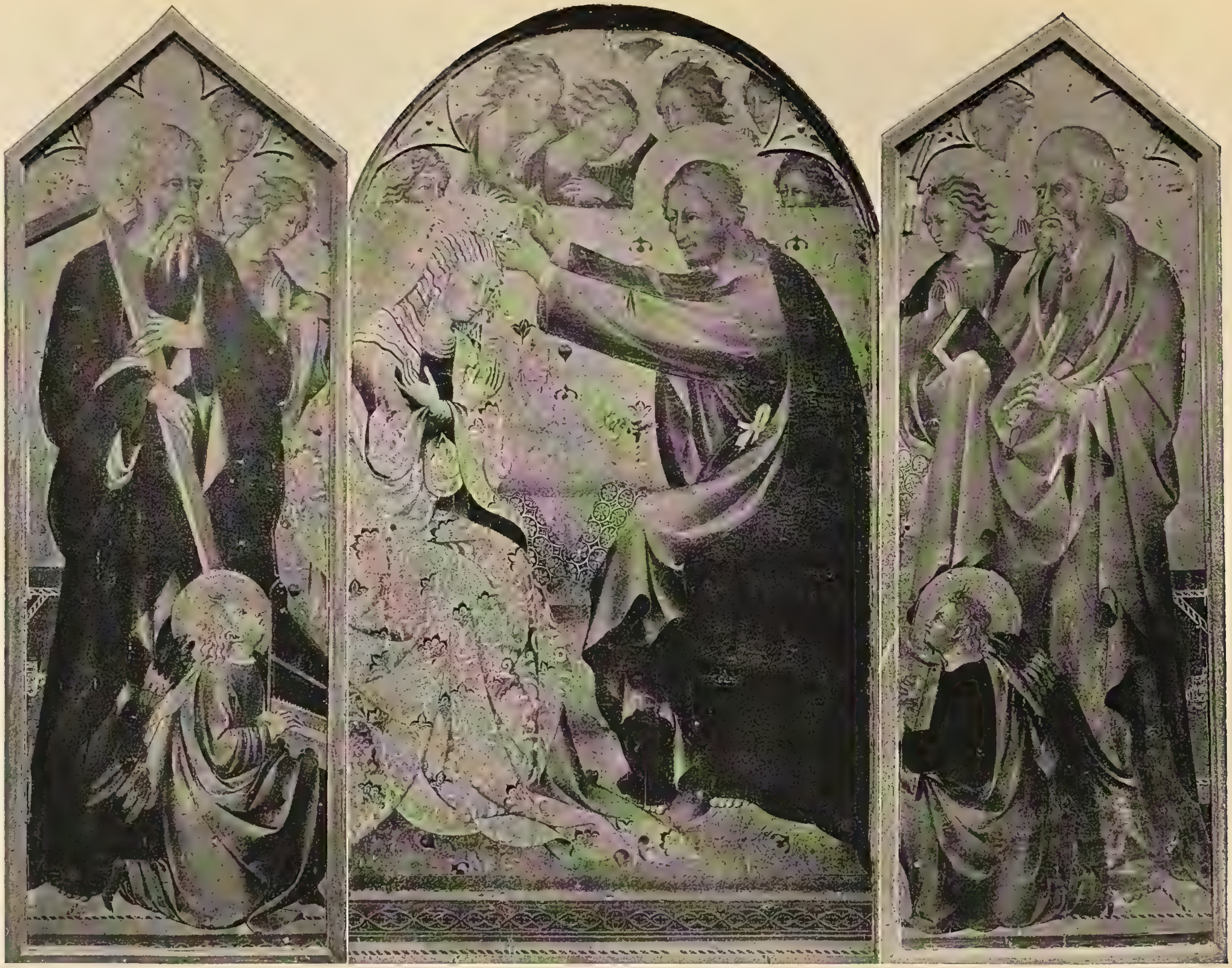


3. Siena, Palazzo Saracini:
Madonna in Glory



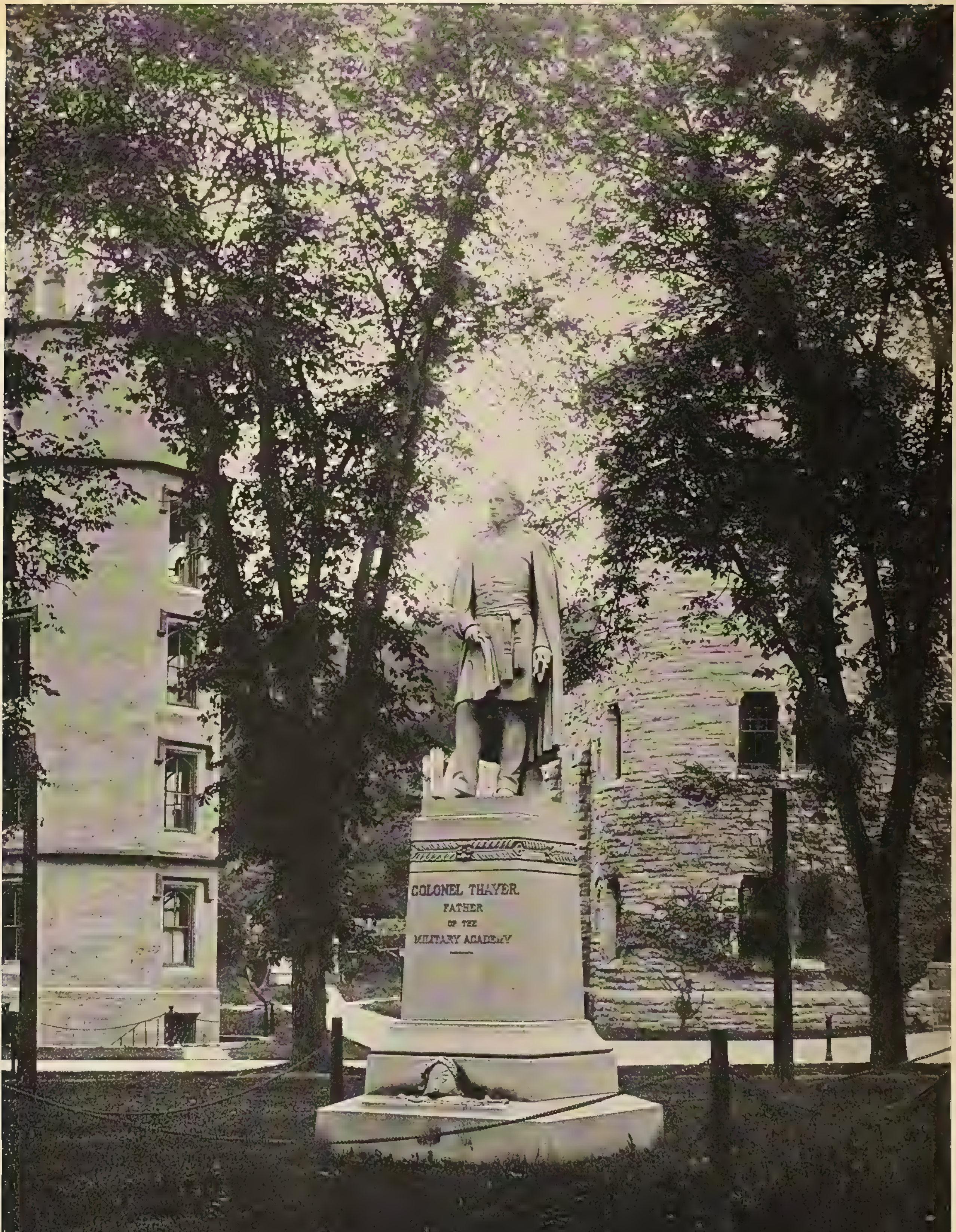
4. Siena, Church of Servi di Maria:
Madonna della Misericordia



2. Siena, Church of San Andrea: Polyptych: Coronation of the Virgin

lected many authentic and charming primitives. He lacked, however, the professional's knowledge of Italian art and, of course, lived at a time when many problems, especially those involving the Sienese School, had not been worked out, even by the professional critics. It is not surprising, therefore, that he did not recognize the author, or even the Sienese School, but attributed the painting, with a question-mark, to Orcagna, a name which has remained upon it ever since. Although the owners at St. John the Divine did not consider the attribution correct, they left the label until such time as a correct attribution could be made. The painting came to the Cathedral through a bequest of Dr. Nevin, who died in 1906. It did not, therefore, appear in the catalogue of the Nevin Sale, published in 1907.

MARTIN MILMORE


COLONEL THAYER
FATHER
OF THE
MILITARY ACADEMY

1. Milmore. Colonel Thayer. West Point

MARTIN MILMORE

By CHANDLER RATHFON POST

I

A DISTINGUISHED and sensitive critic of art, who himself finds his chief interest rather in the Middle Ages, recently chanced to say to me that, with the periodic ebb and flow of taste, early American sculpture would surely one day come to its own. He was referring, doubtless, not only to the first sculptural production of this country from the hands of such men as Rush and Frazee or of their neoclassic successors, Horatio Greenough, Powers, and Crawford, but also to the work of those masters who made the transition from this period of the end of the eighteenth and the opening of the nineteenth century to the essentially modern style inaugurated in the United States about 1875 by Warner and Saint-Gaudens. Both the epoch of the beginnings and that of the transition may rightly be called "early," for the plastic output during these hundred years possessed and partially retained a certain rigidity and restraint, and imparts to the spectator a certain sense of struggle for technique and expression, that constitute a veritable "primitive" stage of American art. I do not believe that my friend meant that the fitful caprices of taste sometimes bring into vogue unworthy phases of the artistic production of the past and that the early sculpture of our country is one of these phases; I judge that he is among those more magnanimous and therefore truer lovers of art who follow old Vasari in discerning aesthetic good in every period and who perceive that the men who essayed sculpture during the first hundred years of our national existence had some intrinsic merits which should save them from oblivion. That real merits are there, no one who examines with an unprejudiced mind will eventually question. If we are only willing to give these works the benefit of the doubt and to look at them without a supercilious curl of the lip or a smile at their not infrequent and perfectly obvious absurdities, we shall receive a recompense for our sincerity by at least a certain degree of artistic pleasure. Now and then we shall even meet with surprises in monuments in which the sculptor by intuition, by conscious and finally rewarded effort, by chance, by what you will, has approximated a masterpiece. In speaking to me on the subject, I presume that my interlocutor was thinking of the walks that I had suggested that he take through graveyards or older parks in search of pieces of our early statuary; and it is true that occasionally among the trees one does come upon unexpectedly pleasant aesthetic experiences like Thomas Crawford's tomb for the Binney family in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, an achievement that has stirred the admiration even of such hypercritical observers as my students at Harvard and Radcliffe.

When the revolution of artistic fashions shall again attract attention to the earlier period of American sculpture, one of those who will prove most deserving of rehabilitation will be a transitional master who has hitherto been relegated to the second rank, Martin Milmore of Boston. The lesser esteem in which he has been held is largely due, doubtless, to the fact that, born in 1844 and dying in 1883, he lived too short a time to attain a national fame. It is probably true, as Ruskin contends, that a man must earn the adjective "great" by the quantity as well as the quality of his productions. I would not court ridicule by calling Milmore "great" or by claiming for him anything but a preëminence within the limits of the style in which chronologically he was forced to express himself; and yet during his brief term of less than forty years he was so prolific that, had he survived through middle age, he would surely have satisfied, at least in the number of his works, the Ruskinian prescription. For quality, too, it is my conviction that he should be advanced to what moderate honors may accrue to him from a place among our transitional sculptors of the first rank. By rescuing from obscurity another Boston sculptor of the period, William Rimmer,[1] Gutzon Borglum has set me a fashion that I readily follow for Milmore. It is not difficult to concur with Borglum in so far as to assign to Rimmer an importance, at least in content, that he has not hitherto enjoyed. In his enthusiasm for his hero, Borglum is doubtless too free in arrogating to him superlative artistic endowments. It is not my purpose to prejudice the reader against Milmore by making this mistake. When the day of rehabilitation comes, however, he will be remembered not merely because the general sort of sculpture to which his production belongs will have become modish. He will stand out even from those who had the ordinary plastic virtues of the time for sober superiorities all his own. He will perhaps even afford us once or twice a pleasant surprise. But beyond all this he is entitled to consideration because, like Rimmer, he partially transcended his epoch and looked forward to the achievements of more modern sculpture. In temperament, indeed, and in certain phases of technique, he may justly be honored with the name of the precursor of Saint-Gaudens. The French and Germans write ponderous books about their sculptors of the mid-nineteenth century, about David d'Angers and Rauch; Milmore has the right to at least an article.

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[1] Gutzon Borglum's article on Rimmer appeared in the *New York Evening Post* of June 18, 1921, under the caption of *Our Prophet Unhonored in Art.*

MARTIN MILMORE

II

The coincidence that both Milmore and Saint-Gaudens should have been born in Ireland is more curious than significant, for there is little in their art that reflects the racial or aesthetic tendencies of the island. It is interesting, nevertheless, to remember that Ireland at this moment was furnishing to the English-speaking peoples the sculptors who were breaking the bonds of neoclassicism in favor of moderate realism: at the same time as she gave Milmore to America, she was sending to England John Henry Foley, one of the most progressive figures in the British plastic production of the day. Milmore's birthplace was the port of Sligo.[1] Bereft of his father, the boy, with the rest of the family, was brought by his mother to Boston in 1851. Although the father had been a schoolmaster, there must have been an artistic strain in the blood, for Martin's elder brother, Joseph, became a wood-engraver and guided him in his first attempts at sculpture. Martin himself conformed to that practice of starting a technical training at a youthful age which past history has demonstrated to be almost a requisite prelude to the attainment of artistic distinction. While still a mere lad, he entered upon a more systematic study of art at the Lowell Institute, Boston. The determinative factor in his career was his admission, at about the age of fifteen, into the studio of the best teacher that he could have found in the city, the progressive transitional sculptor, Thomas Ball, where he remained from 1860 to 1864. Inasmuch as he was thus drawn into the general current of American sculpture in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, it becomes necessary, if we are to understand what Milmore owed to his environment and what to himself, to review the plastic conditions of that period.

The days of the untutored, more or less neoclassic, but sporadically successful efforts of the founders of our native school were now over. Even the definitive and formal neoclassicism that had been established in this country as the artistic norm during the first half of the nineteenth century by the contact of Greenough, Powers, and Crawford with the aesthetic life of Europe was beginning to wane. By the middle and in the third quarter of the century our sculptors adopted for portraiture the partial and restrained realism which, except for a few audacious innovators like Carpeaux, was generally typical of the plastic art of Europe at this time, represented in France by David d'Angers and more brilliantly by Rude, embodied in Germany by Rauch and his many imitators, in Belgium by Geefs, Fraikin,

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[1] For Milmore's biography, cf. the obituary notice in the *Boston Transcript*, July 23, 1883, and Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture*, first ed., New York, 1903, pp. 252–255 (second ed., 1924, same as the first except for an added chapter on more recent sculpture).

Simonis, and Ducaju, and in Great Britain by Foley. This development took place in America largely as a spontaneous reaction against the characterless nature of neoclassic art, and apparently without much knowledge of the contemporary schools of European countries except Italy; and Italy was not yet enough of a centre of the new manner to have taught realism to our sculptural aspirants. It was only at the end of the sixties that the young Warner and Saint-Gaudens broke with precedent by studying in France, and thus set in motion the current that eventually swept aside the transitional style. The moderate realism of the transition I have elsewhere[1] defined in the following sentences. "The modelling included further and better definition of the object than in the neoclassic period, but the surfaces remained hard and dry (that is, the surfaces were not yet broken up into sketchy expanses of bosses and depressions, as in more modern sculpture, for the sake of provoking a pictorial play of light and shade). The characterization reveals a praiseworthy observation of nature. Contemporary costume was allowed, but very commonly, out of deference to the vanished neoclassic toga, a purely decorative mantle was thrown over the shoulders." Ideal sculpture in the United States during this period was less enterprising, hampered by the heavy aftermath of neoclassicism. How much the doctrinaire aesthetic system of neoclassicism yet meant in the United States is seen in the fact that Milmore himself felt it obligatory to seek vitality by sojourns on what was still considered the life-giving soil of art, Rome, and it was indeed there that he completed the design for his most ambitious achievement, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on the Boston Common. One whole group of our sculptors, including such men as Story, R. S. Greenough, Randolph Rogers, and Rinehart, continued to hold, in theme and in execution, to neoclassic precepts; and their portraiture was so far infected with antiquarian theory as to be less exact in its characterization and less virile. The progressive American masters, however, among whom were numbered Brown, Ball, and Ward, not only cultivated a more incisive kind of moderately realistic portraiture, but, after they had made their début with perhaps two or three pieces of the usual kind of neoclassic mythology or allegory, they were able even in imaginative themes, at least in some small degree, to escape from the vapid generalization and smoothness of the tradition of Canova and Thorvaldsen, to approximate, even in an ideal figure, an actual human being rather than a Graeco-Roman marble, to instil into it a modicum of personal or national feeling in lieu of neoclassic emptiness, and thus to invest it with something of the realism that they were applying to their portrait statues and busts. It was with this less conservative group that the lot of Milmore, through his tutelage under Ball,

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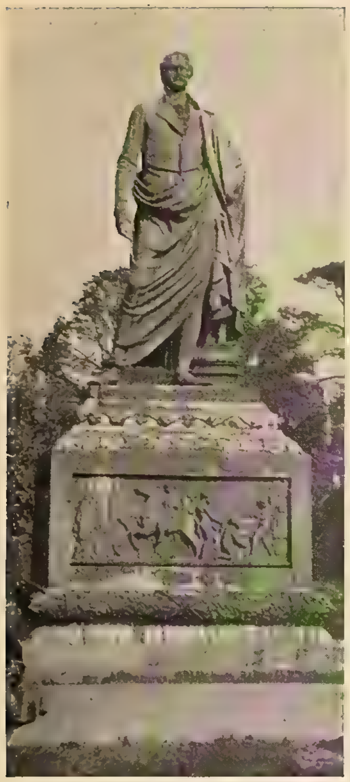
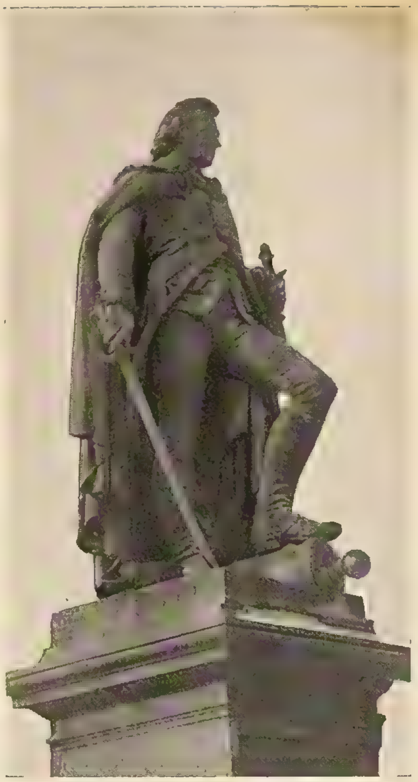
[1] *A History of European and American Sculpture,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1921, vol. II, p. 117.

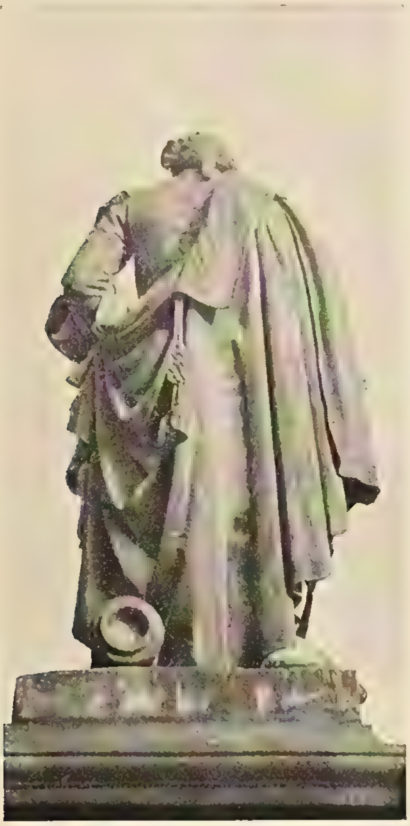


2. Brown. Clinton. Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn

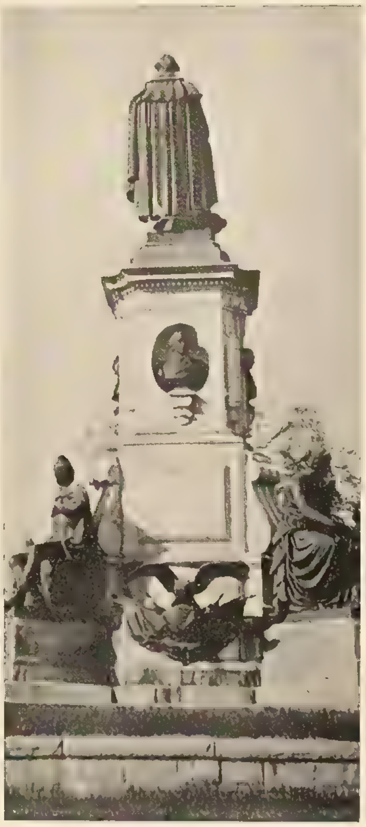
3. Milmore. General Berry. Rockland, Maine



4. Milmore. John Glover. Commonwealth Avenue, Boston



5. Milmore. John Glover. Commonwealth Avenue, Boston



6. Ball. Washington Monument. Methuen, Massachusetts

was luckily cast. One of the forces that particularly contributed to providing a more genuine content for ideal sculpture was the Civil War. Whereas the Revolution, strangely enough, had played a comparatively slight rôle in the sculptural output of America during the neoclassic epoch, the War of Secession not only gave birth to almost as prodigious a number of monuments to the soldiers and sailors in general and to individual illustrious statesmen and warriors on either side as the Risorgimento in Italy to memorials of Cavour and Garibaldi; but it also set men's natures in a universal ferment that stirred sculpture to a greater vitality and sincerity, and its conclusion left a stronger sense of unity and nationality that served to draw forth the indigenous strain in our art and to initiate an essentially American tradition. The monuments to the Civil War that are now seen in our squares and parks are largely the work of the sculptors who enjoyed patronage in the quarter of a century after the end of the struggle, and it was in this form of sculpture that Milmore found his principal employment and earned unique distinction.

III

In the examination of his actual production, our first business is to observe how he rivalled his fellows in the ordinary merits of the more progressive phase of the transitional style. The field of his most signal attainments was in ideal themes or such semi-ideal figures as the typical soldiers and sailors of the Union forces which eventually became his specialty; but in portraiture, public or private, he was surpassed by no other sculptor of his generation. The statue of Colonel Thayer at West Point (Fig. 1) may be chosen as the measure of his capabilities in this aspect of his art (dedicated the year of Milmore's death, 1883). He has not the initiative and daring of his French contemporary, Rude, to define personality by a characteristic activity. We shall find more and more, as we proceed, that he is thoroughly American in his sobriety, and nowhere to a greater degree than in his retention of the static poses that have remained more consonant with the genius of our art even to the present day. The sobriety of Milmore and of American sculpture in general will be often stressed in these pages. It is one of our most precious aesthetic possessions and provides us with an innate advantage over French art. That it is an advantage, no one, at least of American birth and feeling, will doubt. The exhibitions of painting and sculpture at Paris may surpass ours in brilliancy, skill, and invention, but there is likely to be about all these pictures and statues an excess of excitement, voluptuousness, or sensationalism. I remember still with what satisfaction and pride, after wandering through several such salons at Paris, I once found myself, on disembarking from the steamer, amidst the calm and poise of even so unpretentious a collection of American art as that gathered in the small galleries of the Grand Central Station at New York.

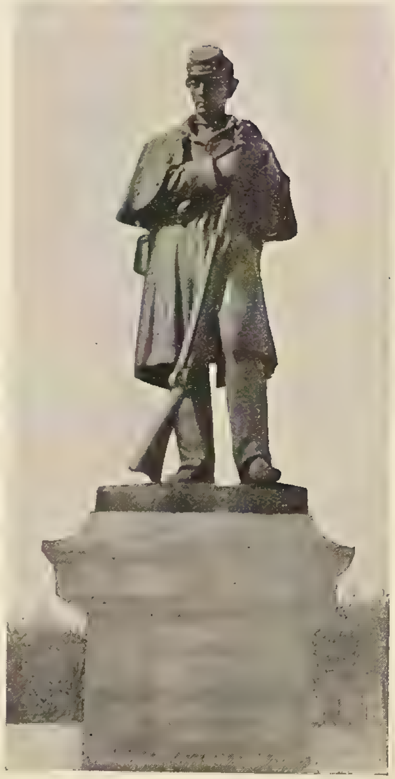
Within the limits of the restraint imposed by our national tradition, the characterization of the Colonel Thayer is more convincing and vigorous than that achieved by Milmore's master, Ball, and loses nothing by comparison with the work of Brown and Ward. Yet the sharpness of the characterization is eased by a kind of gentleness which he is wont to bestow upon all his figures, whether portraits or ideal forms. This quality may be one of his inheritances from Ball, but it evidently emanates also from his own temperament. The gentleness, through its softening effect, contributes to a partial attainment of that generalization of the statue from an individual into a type which is an essential of all good portraiture. But it does not detract from the manliness of the person portrayed; it is a male gentleness. The investiture of his figures with this virile sympathy is one of the many ways in which he foretold Saint-Gaudens. The impression is assisted by the long and elegant lines of the lingering neoclassic mantle, here justified by its use as a military cape; the hanging tassels of the belt and the downward direction of the two hands help to produce the same result. The mantle, however, is no longer drawn across the body like a toga as in Ball's Josiah Quincy of City Hall Square, Boston, Brown's Clinton in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn (Fig. 2), or even as in Brown's Lincoln in Union Square, New York; it has become merely a piece of the contemporary costume, falling from the shoulders over the back, and does not conceal the other part of the modern garb. In this instance, Milmore has not so well succeeded in eliciting, from the hard problem that the coat and trousers present to artists, the gleam of grace with which he endows his forms of simple soldiers. The modern dress, in any case, does not hide the body. Born with a plastic nature, Milmore so composes and models as always to make the spectator feel beneath the costume, however cumbersome, the human form, which is a sculptor's chief concern and his chief vehicle. The effect of gentleness comes also from the ease of pose and drapery that he has imparted to the figure. A comparison with Brown's Clinton (Fig. 2), which, as an early work (1852), still retains much of the rigidity of primitive American art, is sufficient to demonstrate the advance achieved in free articulation of the body.

In the statue of another military hero, the General Berry in Achorn Cemetery, Rockland, Maine (Fig. 3), he has abolished altogether the mantle, with the result that the plastic feeling for the underlying body is much more evident. Of the coat and trousers of the remaining uniform, he has made even less than in the case of the Colonel Thayer. The static pose, nevertheless, is easily taken, and Milmore has once again engrafted upon the form his pleasing fusion of gentleness and manliness.

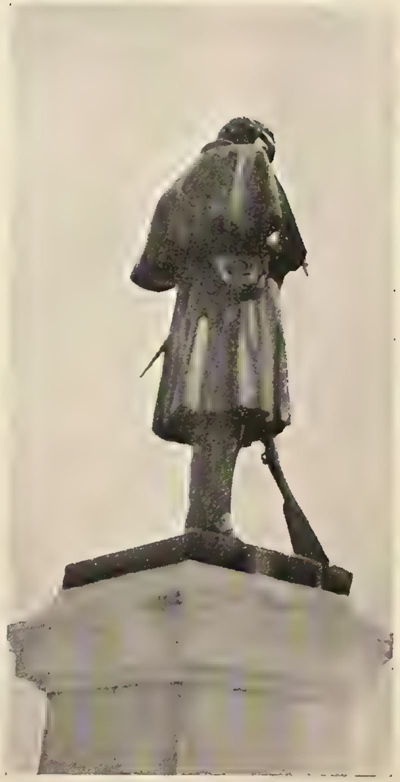
The statue of the revolutionary patriot, John Glover, on Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, dated 1875, is a more ambitious effort (Fig. 4). Although the pose may still be called static, it is a nearer approach to the animation of Rude. If the personality is not rendered by actual movement, Milmore has had the hardihood to choose at least a characteristic moment of alertness which will break the next instant into definite activity. The right arm is itching to use the sword and has already tossed back the cape. Milmore here modestly joins the ranks of those sculptors who have been able to make a form instinct with stored up and future movement. The impression is accentuated by raising the left leg upon the barrel of a cannon as if the soldier were forthwith to step forward and rush upon the enemy. The same virtues in the general delineation of the individuality appear here as in the statue of Colonel Thayer. Although the expression has the greater intensity demanded by the conception, the alleviating mildness is not wholly absent. The colonial uniform not only in itself permits pleasanter lines and masses than that of a century later, but it also clings more closely to the body, which is thus summoned forth from the costume with more splendid plastic realization. But the most distinguished factor in the achievement is perhaps the cape (Fig. 5). It is more than a touch of elegance or a bit of homage to dying neoclassicism; since the statue is situated in the midst of a public walk, it is a mode of solving the problem of creating a composition that shall present agreeable aspects to all points of view. Milmore has made a feature of the back of the mantle in order to interest the stroller who comes upon the figure from behind. Doubtless on the statue of Colonel Thayer it fulfils the same function, but in the case of the Glover it is magnificently elaborated. The contrast of the vertical folds on the right with the curving sequence on the left is an obvious balance, purposed by the sculptor in order to serve as a decorative piece of pure design, and yet the whole expanse is treated with a grandness of sweep that obviates any sense of artificiality. It is evidence of Milmore's more conscious artistry that Ball in his Washington on the large monument at Methuen, Massachusetts (Fig. 6), makes nothing of the back of the mantle but a monotonous succession of straight, parallel folds. One might perhaps object that the spread of drapery on the back of the Glover is conceived pictorially as a mass that would delight the painter's brush. It is true that the great folds are deeply indented to produce striking contrasts of light and shade, but these passages are on so large a scale that the result is thoroughly in accord with the essential nature of sculpture. Within the principal folds, however, we discern that beginning of a corrugation of the surfaces which is one of the ways in which Milmore anticipated the qualities of more modern sculpture. Carpeaux had already developed this mode of pictorial chiaroscuro in French sculpture to an audacious degree.

Milmore had not studied in France, and it is not likely that he was affected in any appreciable measure by Carpeaux or any other French sculptor. What slight pictorialism he permitted himself was a part of the spontaneous evolution towards the approximation of sculpture to painting that took place everywhere in Europe and America, almost independently, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Except in one instance, which will be considered immediately, Milmore never went far along this road, and remained essentially an exponent of the dryer style of our transitional period. But the dryness had its compensations. It forestalled an excessive importation of the qualities of painting. As far as the mantle on the statue of Glover is pictorial, it is the grandiose pictorialism of the decorative compositions of the baroque rather than the impressionistic sketchiness of modern sculpture. The drapery retains a monumentality that Milmore, as a true sculptor, was never willing to sacrifice.

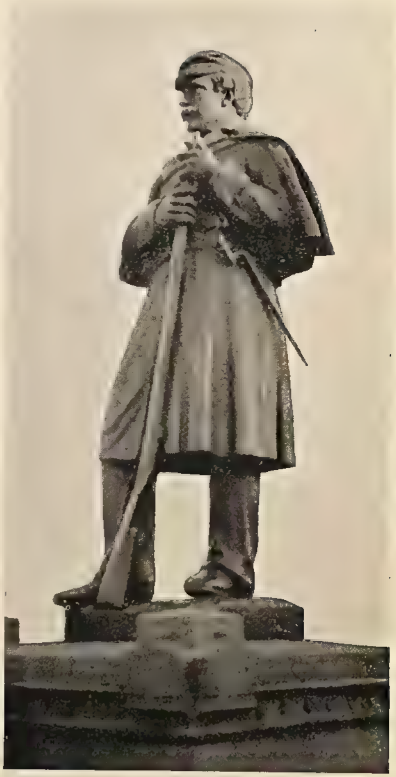
The statue of William Garner on Harmony Mill, No. 3, at Cohoes, New York (Fig. 7), is in a class which is different from that of Milmore's other portraits, although the General Berry represents an approximation to this style: it is baldly realistic. Whereas he invested his other effigies with a certain degree of idealization, he has here dared an unsparing faithfulness to an unpleasantly corpulent, squarely built, and loosely compounded body, upon which nature had cruelly imposed the additional incubus of Gargantuan feet and of the incongruous shortness of a pair of stumpy legs. Not only has Milmore refused to ameliorate or idealize away any of these physical imperfections and to flatter, but he has refrained from manipulating the lines of the clothing, which apparently reproduce with unflinching accuracy the rumpled, disordered mass of the industrial magnate's every-day garb. In the physiognomy, also, closeness to the model is carried farther than Milmore elsewhere attempted; the effect of actuality is much increased by such a pronounced disintegration of the countenance into a number of small planes, in contrast to neoclassic smoothness, that the master may fairly be said, in this one instance, to have more than prophesied the sketchiness of Rodin and of modern sculptural impressionism. The whole figure, indeed, is out of place in the time in which it was created, and provides another of the many ways in which Milmore was in advance of his day. It is conceived and executed in that mode of extreme realism which Rodin later brought into vogue by the works of his first period, which was likewise anticipated by William Rimmer, and which is illustrated in recent American plastic portraiture by Bela Pratt's Edward Everett Hale in the Public Garden, Boston, by Gutzon Borglum's Lincoln at Newark, New Jersey, and, with higher distinction, by Barnard's Lincoln at Cincinnati. One's aesthetics may be such as to be loath to admit such realism within the circle of the highest art; it cannot, however,



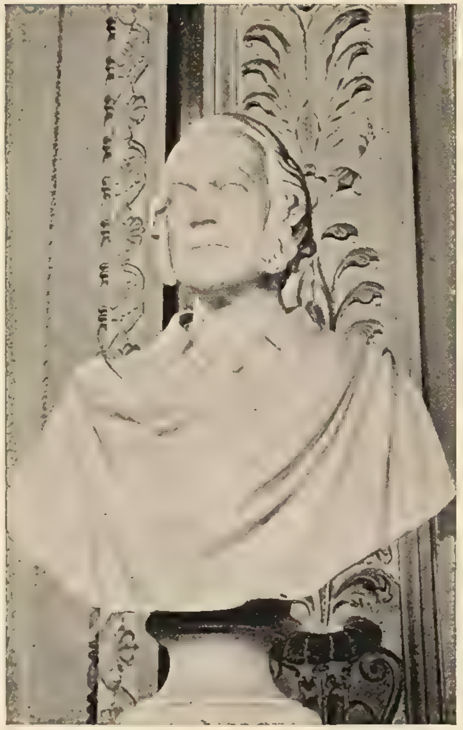
10. Milmore. Civil War Monument. Forest Hills Cemetery, Boston



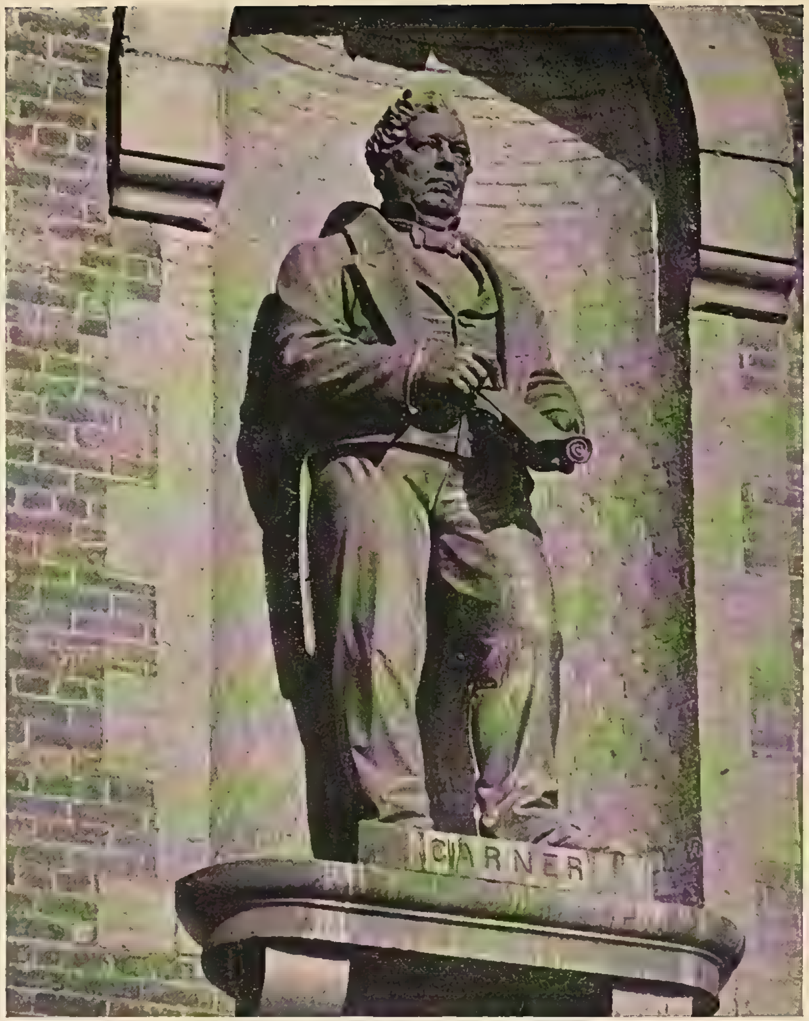
12. Milmore. Civil War Monument. Forest Hills Cemetery, Boston



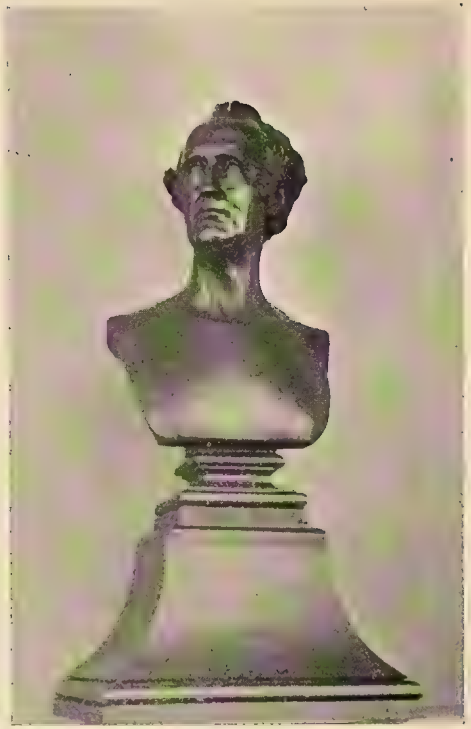
14. Milmore. Civil War Monument. Framingham Centre, Massachusetts



8. Milmore. Ticknor. Public Library, Boston



7. Milmore. William Garner. Cohoes, New York



9. Milmore. Wendell Phillips. Faneuil Hall, Boston

be denied that, granting the end that they set themselves, both Milmore and Barnard have achieved their purpose powerfully. The sculptors who succeeded Milmore in the next generation did not follow the suggestion of another style that he had here given them: Daniel Chester French, for example, called upon in 1888, five years after Milmore's death, to commemorate, in the Capitol at Washington, a man of a very similar portly contour, General Cass, produced a statue that evidently sacrifices veracity to what poor semblance of physical beauty and of artistic effect could be attained without abjuring altogether the demand for a recognizable likeness. It is perhaps far-fetched to guess that Milmore vaguely relished the massiveness of form for the same reason of sculptural solidity for which Maillol cultivates it at the present day.

His portrait busts possess no unusual distinction. They are quite as vivid characterizations as any other American was achieving at the time and embody Milmore's customary strong masculinity; but, like Rude, he seems to have considered them merely a part of the day's work and not to have devoted to them any special pains or invention. The marble George Ticknor in Bates Hall in the Boston Public Library (Fig. 8), as an early effort of 1868, reveals an agreeably draped neoclassic mantle cast over the modern costume. The bronze of Wendell Phillips in the Assembly Hall, Faneuil Hall, Boston,[1] dated 1869 (Fig. 9), clings to another neoclassic convention that has often persisted in more recent sculpture, the nude shoulders and chest.

IV

Half-way between Milmore's portraiture and his purely ideal productions lies the sphere in which he was most in demand and in which he inaugurated a new phase of American sculpture, his work as a commemorator of the soldiers on the Northern side in the Civil War. The first of these monuments by Milmore, erected in 1867, only two years after the end of the struggle, by the citizens of Roxbury, Massachusetts, in Forest Hills Cemetery (Fig. 10), started a popular fashion, for simpler memorials, of the standing form of a single soldier in uniform. All of us have encountered again and again these figures in the central squares of American towns that could not afford more pretentious structures, some of them no more than the handicraft of mere commercial stone-cutters or bronze-casters, others by truer artists of the transitional period or even of later days, and not a few by Milmore himself. The custom has continued as a manner of commemoration even for the recent Great War, but — be it admitted at once to our shame — the modern stone or bronze doughboy is not the artistic equal of his ancestors of the Civil War. We make easy sport of these early military statues as we glance at them superficially in riding through New England villages, but they deserve more careful inspection. I recall how a Southern lady, who motored much in the North, used to heap scorn upon them for my benefit, stigmatizing them as "Yankee soldiers," and I have always considered it a signal victory for my ability as a propagandist that, despite her natural Confederate prejudices, I have eventually won her to look upon them with more indulgence and even to descry in them a minimum of mild beauty.

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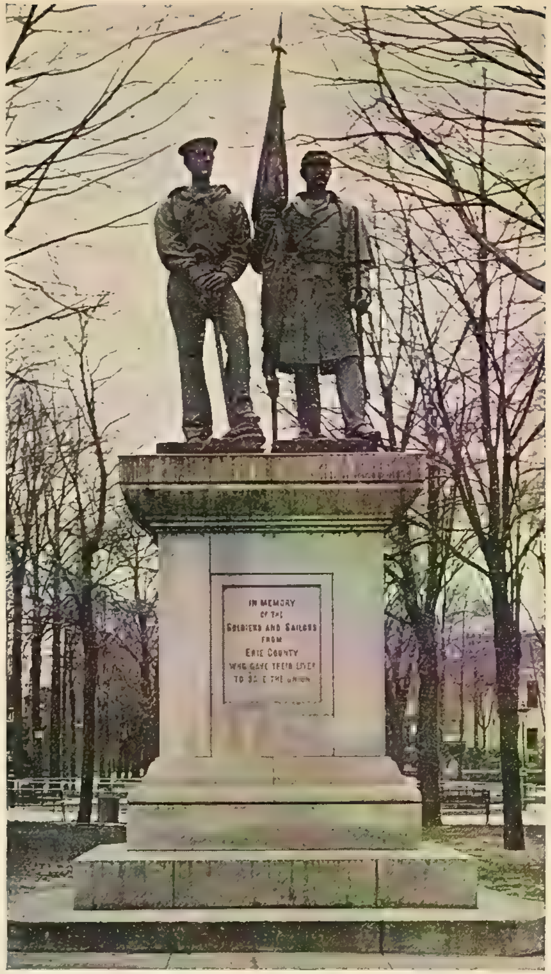
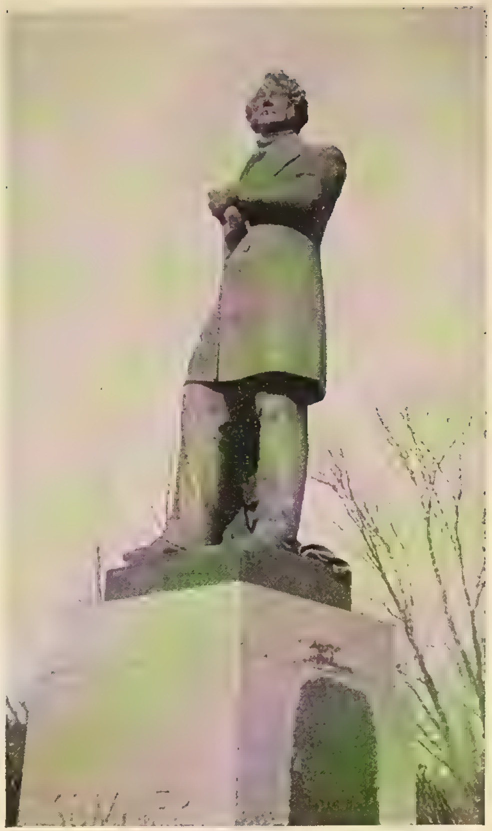
[1] Bronze copy in Bates Hall, Boston Public Library.

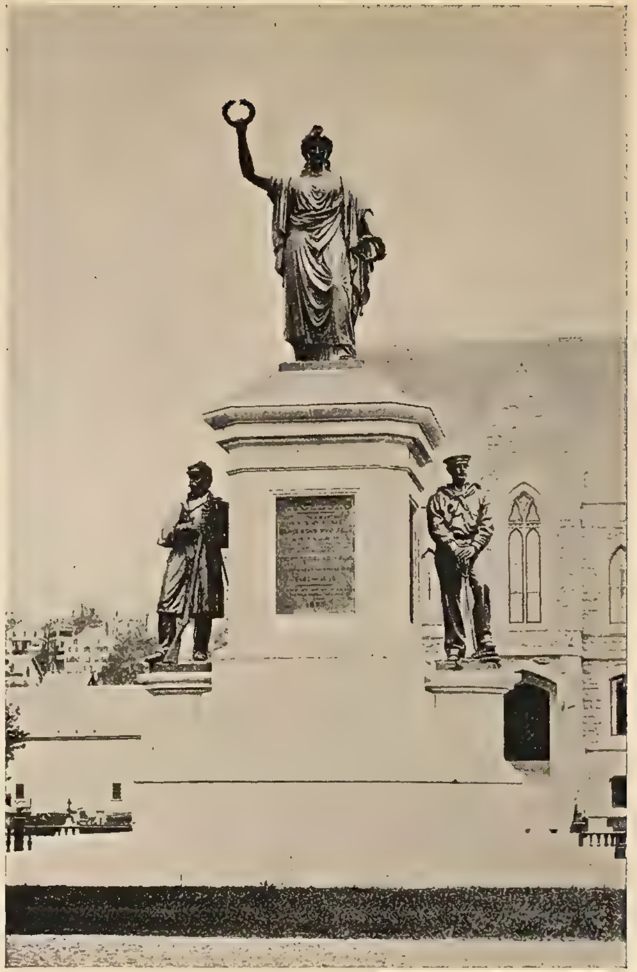
Although Milmore was only twenty-three years old when he did it, the figure in Forest Hills Cemetery is certainly the best of his series of "Yankee soldiers." Its superiority is doubtless due in part merely to the fact that he has chosen a young and attractive physical type, in contrast to the somewhat more mature and moustached campaigner who appears in his later monuments, and that the youthful form is more appropriate to the generalized and half-idealized theme. To compare the small with the great, Milmore brings to mind the way in which Raphael infuses into his first productions something of the freshness of his own early manhood. But there is more to the work than this. Milmore has already liberated himself from the stiffness of the primitive and achieved his characteristic ease and grace of pose. His spirit of gentleness attaches itself more naturally to the younger figure. The element, however, that is most significant and richest in promise for the future of American art is the treatment of the costume. By slight yet telling devices he has transformed one of the things least fitted to be an artistic vehicle, the Northern uniform of the Civil War, into an object that is a more than tolerable constituent of the whole impression. The military coat was perhaps not a very difficult problem, but he has elevated it above the commonplace by the pleasant curves that it takes over both arms, by opening the neck into a loose and artfully careless fall of the collar, and by the fullness of the skirt and its fluency of line. Trousers have been an invincible obstacle for many modern sculptors, and the Sumner of the Public Garden, Boston (1877) (Fig. 11), betrays how Milmore's master, Ball, was likely to make a fiasco of them; but in the Roxbury soldier Milmore himself has grappled with the problem and succeeded in casting them into masses and lines within the masses that at least do not trouble the spectator or detract from the general satisfaction in the entire statue. As in the Glover, he has made a point also of the view from behind (Fig. 12), and composed the cloak in a design of orderly folds, the formality of which is agreeably concealed in a general graceful ease. It was in this partial artistic victory over modern masculine attire that he again proved himself a forerunner of Saint-Gaudens, who, however, won his battle by treating it with a much greater simplification and by an impressionistic definition only of essentials. Milmore's first memorial to the


IN MEMORY
OF THE
SOLDIERS AND SAILORS
FROM
ERIE COUNTY
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES
TO SAVE THE UNION

13. Milmore. Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument.
Erie, Pennsylvania



11. Ball. Sumner.
Public Garden, Boston



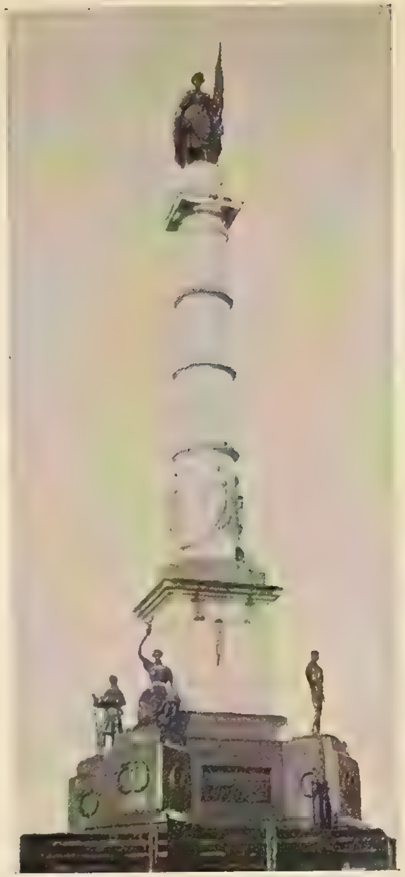
15. Milmore. Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument.
Fitchburg, Massachusetts

Civil War stands, withal, as a notable landmark in the history of American art, and it is a happy coincidence that his own noble mortuary monument by Daniel Chester French with the relief of Death staying the Hand of the Young Sculptor should have been placed so close to this significant youthful work of his in Forest Hills Cemetery. Lorado Taft interprets the conception of the Roxbury figure as of a soldier contemplating the graves of his comrades. It is doubtful whether the staid Milmore entertained an idea of such sentiment or thought of anything further than an infantryman leaning upon his gun.

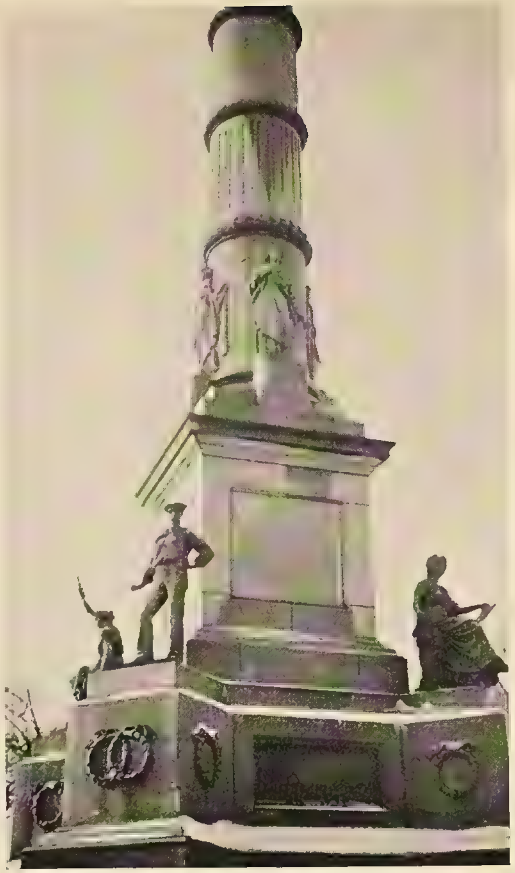
The orders for this kind of commemorative sculpture soon began to pour in on Milmore in such number that it became his custom to supply them in some instances by sending to his patrons replicas of already executed figures of soldiers, whether to stand alone or as parts of more elaborate compositions. The Roxbury statue, for instance, was repeated in 1869 for a memorial of a single figure at Claremont, New Hampshire, and again at Peterborough in the same state. But he also went on to create variations of the same theme, never quite equalling his first success, except that perhaps the stalwart robustness of these maturer types of manhood is more monumental. The figure that he utilized for the memorial at Woburn, Massachusetts, is the same as that which he coerced into service for Keene, New Hampshire, and, except for the flag and the placing of the gun, as that which he combined with a sailor for Erie, Pennsylvania (Fig. 13). He took up likewise the sailor for public commemoration, but he failed to extract any aesthetic values from the nautical uniform. Another variation of the *motif* of the soldier, at Framingham Centre, Massachusetts (Fig. 14), reappears again as one of the figures on the monuments at Fitchburg (1872–1874) (Fig. 15) and at Charlestown (1872) in Massachusetts. The same sailor greets the visitor at Fitchburg, Charlestown, and Erie.

The almost identical monuments at Fitchburg and Charlestown bring us to those more enterprising memorials of the Civil War in which Milmore unites an allegorical statue with the forms of warriors. The question of composition involved in such monuments may be postponed to a subsequent paragraph, but it should be pointed out at once that the group at Charlestown is made more compact by elevating the soldier and sailor almost to the level of the allegorical personification. This figure of Victory, of Liberty, of the Republic, or of America falls within the category of Milmore's purely ideal sculpture, which will also be the subject of later discussion. Suffice it to note at this point that, like so much of the ideal production of even our progressive masters in the transitional period and in distinction from the majority of Milmore's other imaginative figures, the feminine personification at Fitchburg and Charlestown is still pretty thoroughly neoclassic. The slavish dependence of neoclassicism upon antique models instead of nature, its misinterpretation of Hellenic art, and its resulting frigidity and vacancy are rightly subjects for general reprobation, and yet even neoclassicism had some virtues, among which, through the very subservience to the antique, was a stress upon plastic form in contrast, on one hand, to the flamboyant pictorialism of the preceding baroque and, on the other, to the subsequent delicate pictorialism of modern sculpture. To Milmore this quality here means again true monumentality, though perhaps a somewhat stiff and *gauche* monumentality. The allegorical figure at Fitchburg, indeed, and the but slightly modified one at Charlestown are not among his best achievements. They lack what Milmore seldom lacks, freedom of pose, and the composition of the drapery over the breasts and knee is both rigid and obvious.

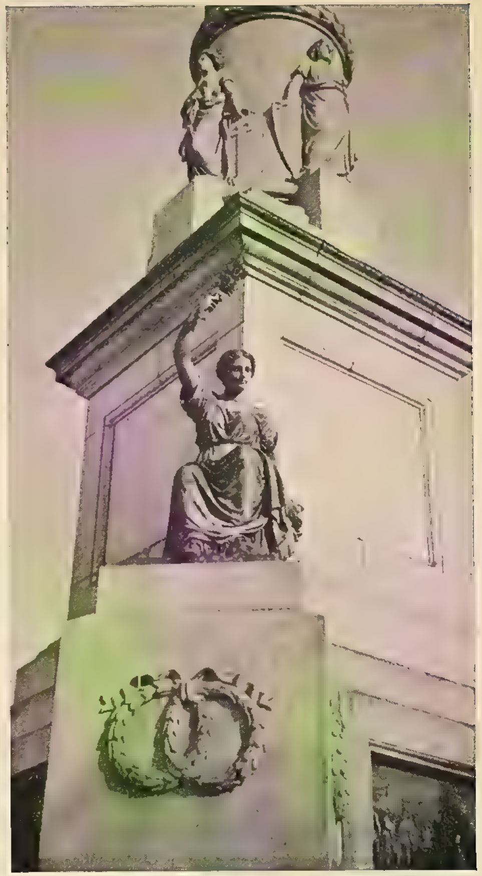
Milmore developed this kind of memorial to its culmination and into a much more complicated and sumptuous form in the Army and Navy Monument on the Boston Common (Fig. 16), thereby bequeathing to American art the precedent for still another type of sculptural and architectural structure to hallow the sacrifices of the Civil War. Upon its conception and execution he was engaged from 1871 to 1877, doing part of the work at Rome. The simple base of his less ambitious monuments now rises into a massive and towering column, and Liberty or America now takes her place on the lofty position of its summit. The pedestal is enlarged to a size appropriate to bear the height and weight of the column and juts forth into four projections, bearing in bronze our old friends, Milmore's soldier and sailor, but also two additional symbolic feminine personifications, Peace and the Muse of History. Occupying the spaces between the projections are four bronze reliefs, representing the departure of the land forces for the war, the departure of the naval forces and the Battle of Fort Sumter, the activity of the Boston Sanitary Commission, and the return from the war. An effective transition from the pedestal to the column and a solid foundation for it are provided by an interposed cubical block carrying the inscription. But Milmore felt it necessary still further to soften the break between the rectangularity of the lower section and the rotundity of the upper, and he therefore introduced on the lowest zone of the column four more allegorical ladies in high relief, typifying the four sections of the country, the North, the South, the East, and the West, ensconced on small blocks above steps, so that the passage between the shapes of the two principal parts of the monument is almost imperceptible. The admirable architectural sense displayed in the general design is in itself enough to assign to Milmore a place in the history of American art. Besides the merits in proportion and management of transitions already mentioned, the very choice of the columnar form was a happy idea, since he thus succeeded in his intent of causing the memorial to dominate, from the



16. Milmore. Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Common, Boston. General View



17. Milmore. Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Common, Boston. Detail

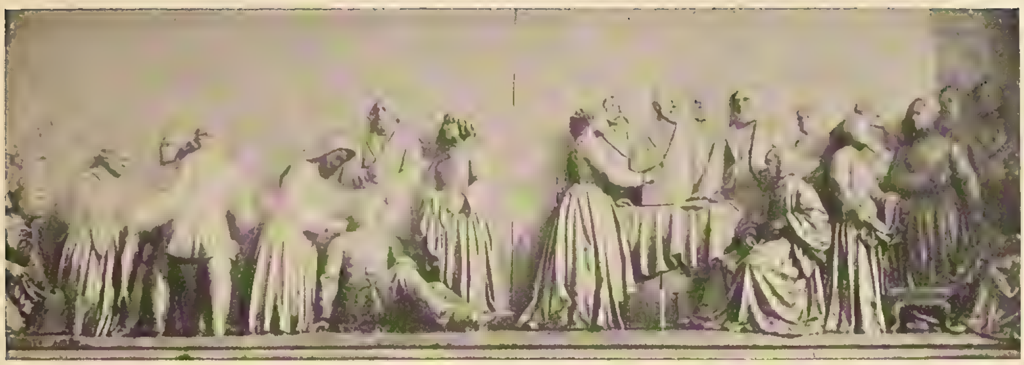


20. Milmore. Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Common, Boston. Detail

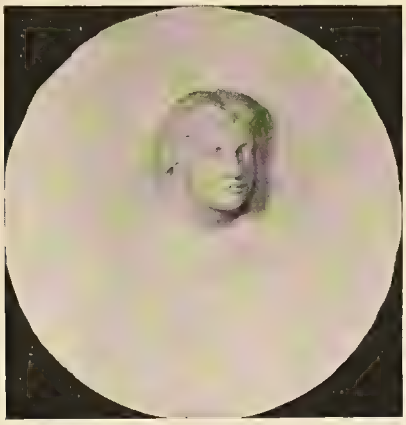
hill upon which it stands in the midst of the Common, the centre of the city in a radius of broad extent. On the column itself a monotonous expanse is skilfully avoided by a subdivision through rings of laurel into four zones and by the differentiation of the two lower zones, one through the figures in relief and the second through a *motif* of fluting. As in the two upper zones it diminishes in circumference towards its capital, the embellishment is very properly abandoned. Everywhere the decorative detail is of that chaste sobriety which is one of Milmore's most salutary qualities and which is so essentially American. The general design, however, is full of subtleties, such as the alternation in direction of facing between the four figures in relief and those upon the jutting projections beneath and the placing of the statue at the top on an additional base instead of baldly upon the capital.

Before we can turn to a consideration of the actual sculpture upon the monument, a word must be given to the relation of this kind of memorial to European and other American examples. It is one specimen of a type of soldiers' and sailors' monument which enjoyed extensive popularity in the United States and which consists of an allegorical personification on the top of a high architectural base surrounded at a lower level by figures of soldiers, sailors, and related symbolic statues. From the data at hand, I find it impossible to determine whether it was Milmore who invented the type and transmitted it to his colleagues. At exactly the same time as Milmore was conceiving and executing his structure on the Boston Common, Randolph Rogers was doing similar army and navy monuments, for instance, for Providence and Detroit. Both sculptors were then living in Rome and may very well have interchanged ideas. It is just as likely that Milmore, Rogers, or other American masters developed the type spontaneously, without interinfluence, from the suggestion of smaller memorials, like those at Fitchburg and Charlestown, which included only a single allegorical figure with the customary soldier and sailor. The advance from one type to the other was an easy and natural step. Nor is it probable that Milmore and Rogers were inspired by similar monuments in France and Germany. It is indeed a question whether there were as yet in France any memorials to celebrated men of the characteristic sort in which the portrait statue is accompanied at a lower level by related historical and allegorical figures. The invention, or at least dissemination, of this class of monument in France is usually ascribed to Dalou and Falguière. During the seventies Dalou was still in exile in England, and neither he nor Falguière had yet executed in France any works of this style. Even if a few such structures already existed in France, Milmore and Rogers could scarcely have seen them. Much less could they have been conversant with the production of Rauch and his imitators in Germany, and in any case the Teutonic monuments went no further than the addition of statuettes to the portrait effigy. Whatever the facts about the connection with French memorials, the palm belongs to the American examples and especially to Milmore for general aesthetic effect. It would be absurd to set one's face against the fact that the sculptured forms are infinitely inferior to the French in technical knowledge and dexterity or to forget that the American figures still suffer from primitive limitations and from the lack of a long-established artistic tradition in this country; but the American virtue of sobriety enters once more and forestalls the possibility of the Gallic agitation that partially vitiates so many public memorials in France. Our own examples may be prosaic, sometimes almost humorous in the naïveté of their concepts and in the unsuccessful and cumbersome embodiment of these concepts; but they transmit an impression of monumentality and suitability to their function that was denied to the melodrama of French art. No one, I take it, will be disposed to dissent from Taft's judgment that, of these American soldiers' and sailors' monuments, Milmore's, for the compositional reasons which have been stated and for the attainment of the imposing effect contemplated, is the best.

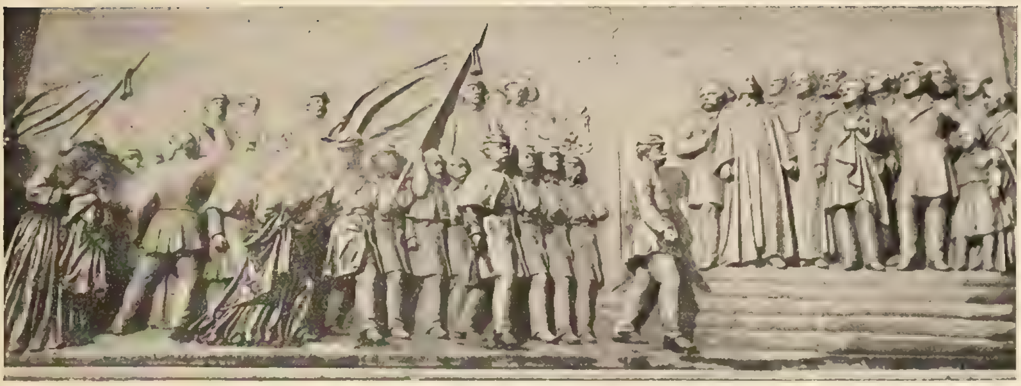
Not that the plastic ornamentation itself lacks intrinsic beauties! It will be wise to dismiss at once the less significant constituents. The soldier is the equal, if not the superior, of the brothers that Milmore made for him in other places, always excepting the Roxbury example. In the sailor (Fig. 17), he strove for once for more animation and thereby proved, in this somewhat disjointed form, that he had not completely mastered the rendering of movement in sculpture. In trying to make him jaunty, he made him almost funny. The reliefs are an utter failure. Perhaps with the definite aesthetic and neoclassic theory that pictorial perspective is improper to sculpture, he suggests the background only by the merest incised lines, with no depth, with little and uninteresting detail, and sometimes with rather desultory drawing; in the figures themselves he confines himself virtually to two planes. One would possibly not protest against this simplification, if the conceptions, compositions, or figures themselves possessed any merits. Not only do they lack positive merits, but they are actually bad. The ideas are commonplace and *bourgeois*. In each frame the figures are not brought together into a united composition but fall asunder in isolated groups. Within each group there is no interesting formation; it is usually dull alignment. The figures themselves are unillumined, middle-class types, often carelessly posed, of squatty proportions, with the mechanical gestures of manikins, and ugly clothes and draperies. A point is made of the introduction of a large number of portraits of contemporary Bostonians — Longfellow, Lowell, Phillips Brooks, and many others —, but the portraits are sorry objects. The reliefs are conceived and executed with a tone of photographic realism or verism and with



18. Milmore. Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Common, Boston.
Relief of the Sanitary Commission



23. Milmore. Phosphor.
Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston



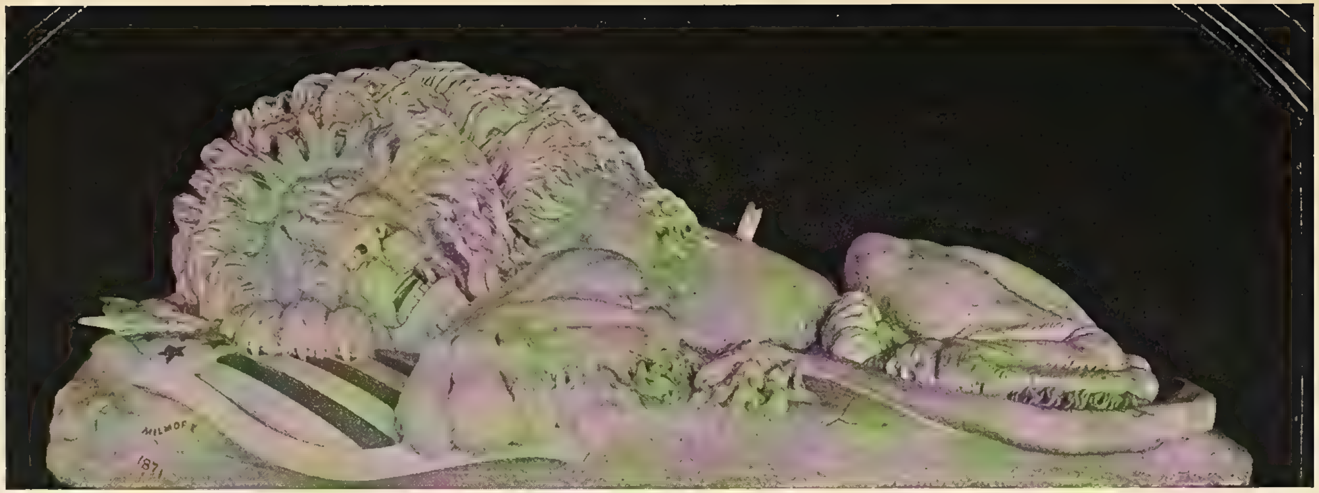
19. Milmore. Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Common, Boston.
Relief of Departure for the War

an unalleviated domesticity of presentation that suggest the appalling vulgarity of Italian sepulchral sculpture in the later nineteenth century. It is the same sort of thing that Milmore's contemporary, John Rogers, was doing, with finer feeling, in his celebrated "groups." The defects are surprising and hard to explain when we remember the virtues of Milmore's larger statues in some of these very respects. Doubtless his lack of experience in relief had something to do with it. Realizing his deficiency and the hopelessness, here, of any real distinction, he may have consciously slurred over these parts of the monument, and concentrated his ability elsewhere. Of the two reliefs chosen for illustration, the Sanitary Commission (Fig. 18), is decidedly better than the Departure (Fig. 19). Although the advance of the troops in the latter subject is not completely destitute of movement, here for once Milmore does not look forward to Saint-Gaudens; there is no prophecy of the wonderful sense of tramping soldiers that one gets from the Shaw Memorial at a corner of the same Common. The Sanitary Commission possesses a little of the mild charm of John Rogers.

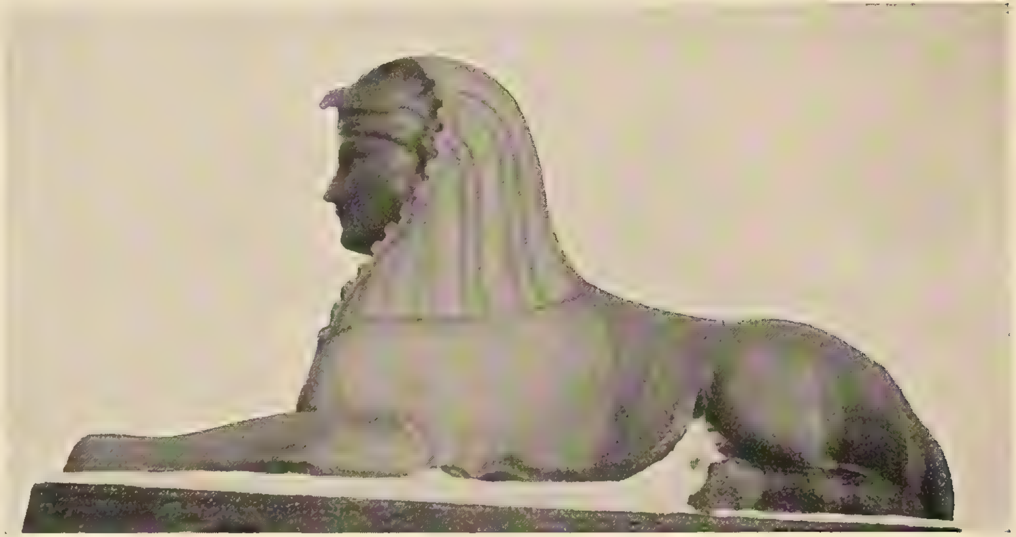
The large allegorical figures belong to a far different and superior style. The Liberty or America at the summit is a better realization of the elegant monumentality that he was seeking in the Fitchburg and Charlestown memorials. The more accessible and easily studied Peace (Fig. 20) and Muse of History reveal Milmore as partially shuffling off servility to the antique in imaginative themes and as approximating a somewhat personal and modern ideal of femininity. Of the spiritual content of this ideal I shall have something to say immediately when considering the general nature of his imaginative production. It is enough to observe here the beginning of the incorporation of that American ethnic type which, despite the conglomeration of racial stock, exists as an indubitable reality. The most successful section of the plastic embellishment, however, is the lowest zone of the column with the feminine personifications of the four geographical divisions of the country in high relief. With the sensitiveness to architectural propriety that distinguishes the whole monument, Milmore has had the perception and the courage to simplify the lines of forms, postures, and draperies. The figures have a breadth and solidity that do not prevent the sculptor from attaining within these bounds a solemn grace. The yielding of neoclassic coldness to a more individual and American type of woman does not mean any loss of the nobility which was one of the beneficent results of the imitation of the antique and concordant with the function of architectural decoration.

V

The same monumentality characterizes two figures of animals that he did as memorials to those who had given their lives for the Northern cause in the war, works which may serve us as a transition from Milmore's activity as a sculptor of the army and navy to his purely ideal production. The first, of 1871, in Colby College, Waterville, Maine, in honor of the soldiers of that institution (Fig. 21), follows closely in composition and posture the notorious Wounded Lion that was cut from the rock at Lucerne from Thorvaldsen's model in order to immortalize the loyalty of the Swiss guard to the French royal family in the Revolution; but in reality it is an adaptation rather than a copy. Milmore's Lion is conceived as finding, in the agony of death, a last resting-place upon the shield of the United States. That he should have turned to Thorvaldsen for a prototype again betrays the lingering hold of neoclassicism, and yet the unpretending American, even in so youthful a work, surpasses the celebrated Dane at almost every point. It is a commonplace of histories of art that Thorvaldsen's sad travesty of the lion is studied from no living animal but from ancient representations. Milmore has not sunk one degree lower by imitating what was already an imitation, but he has apparently had the sense to betake himself to a zoo or a menagerie. He was no Barye, and it is problematical whether he even knew the great achievements by which Barye in France had already created a new kind of sculpture. He now enters the lists as an *animalier*, but we must not expect of him Barye's sophisticated skill, nor, since it was for him only an excursion and not his specialty, the expert zoölogical science that his American contemporary, Edward Kemeys, was exhibiting in this field. Yet the beast's anatomy is more exactly rendered than by Thorvaldsen. Although the figure was called, according to the standard of Victorian sentiment prevalent at the time, the "Weeping Lion," and although his rough, heroic countenance is rather incongruously represented as puckered for an outburst of tears, yet Milmore has imparted to the form something of the power which is an attribute of the king of beasts and which Thorvaldsen's weak creature lacks. The effect is obtained from the vigorously delineated muscular structure and from a fuller, more majestic, and more lifelike mane than Thorvaldsen cared to represent. Because of the monumental function, however, Milmore has very properly anticipated modern stylization by slightly conventionalizing the mane into a series of three tiers, the inmost of which he has arranged in a rather formal set of radiating tufts of hair. His figure is doubtless inferior in correctness, strength, and artistic interpretation to the two Fighting Lions of the other unappreciated sculptor then working in Boston, William Rim-



21. Milmore. "Weeping Lion." Colby College, Waterville, Maine



22. Milmore. Sphinx. Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts

mer, who was in every respect more original, more in advance of his period, and possessed of broader aesthetic ambitions and understanding; but for all that, the Weeping Lion, unostentatiously ensconced in a niche of a hall, is not wholly unworthy of the patriotic purpose for which it was intended.

Milmore's Sphinx, erected in 1872 in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts, for a similar commemoration (Fig. 22), is a more mature achievement. Taft has pointed out in the figures symbolizing the points of the compass on the monument in the Boston Common a feeling for the material in which they are executed; for the Sphinx, likewise, in conformity with the granite out of which it is hewn, Milmore has clung to a great breadth and simplicity of treatment.

VI

One of his earliest ideal works was the *tondo* relief of 1866 called Phosphor or the Morning Star, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 23). The star is materialized in the form of a girl's bust in high relief but with her flowing locks vanishing and merging into the background in that kind of very low relief or *rilievo schiacciato* which was evolved by Donatello at the beginning of the Renaissance. Certainly at this youthful moment in his career Milmore was unfamiliar with Italian sculpture of the Quattrocento, and it was only by a kind of aesthetic instinct that he adopted this agreeable plastic device. Saint-Gaudens popularized *rilievo schiacciato* in the United States by a conscious and exquisite imitation of the early Italians, and in this instance Milmore anticipated him merely by an isolated chance. The treatment of the episodes on the monument in the Boston Common in high and faulty relief betrays the fact that Milmore devoted himself to no enduring and deliberate cult of Donatello's invention. Although later in life he occasionally fell victim to neoclassic theory, as a young man, in the Phosphor, he is as yet unhampered and produces a head and shoulders that are already imbued with a personal sense of feminine beauty. Taft refuses to see in Milmore's works any poetry or sweetness. It is true that they are far removed from the vociferous and rather obvious lyricism that marks much French sculpture, but it would be unfortunate indeed if we were to confine our conception of poetry to passionate and lively strains. We should have to exclude from the category of poets those writers and painters and sculptors who have expressed themselves in quiet reverie. We should have to exclude Saint-Gaudens whose poetry is no less real because less palpable and whose sweetness is no less intense because it is serious.

Even in the colossal, Milmore was able to retain his dulcet and muffled tones. The examples, begun as early as 1864, are the Flora (Fig. 24) and

Pomona (Fig. 25) with which he decorated the façade of the old Horticultural Hall at Boston; the third figure, the Ceres (Fig. 26), is somewhat more sternly heroic. The building has been demolished, and the three figures, much impaired by a long peregrination, have finally found a resting-place on the estate of a Mr. Burrage at Beverly Farms on the North Shore near Boston; the illustrations are made from photographs of the statues as they appeared in the sculptor's studio.[1] For these resuscitations of Roman allegories, the draperies are properly reminiscent of ancient precedents, but a more personal and American conception of feminine loveliness is again impressed upon the Flora and Pomona. Their heads have such a family likeness to that of the Phosphor as to suggest that Milmore's mind was then possessed by this definite and gentle type of the beauty of the other sex. Yet the sedateness of his poetry makes for the monumentality which was required by the architectural purpose and by the material of granite and which was achieved through breadth and massiveness of form and through a simplicity that avoids a fussy emphasis upon the attributes of the deities. Another proof of Milmore's intelligence is found in the differentiation of their characters, running a gamut from the girlishness of the patroness of the flowers through the riper beauty of the autumnal divinity of the fruits to the august severity of the major goddess, Ceres.

It is in his bridled and gentle inspiration that Milmore finally and most unmistakably prepares the way for Saint-Gaudens. Adumbrated in the sensitive face of the Phosphor and in the delicate feeling for maidenhood there displayed, Milmore's poetic endowment is fully realized in his monument for the Coppenhagen family in Mount Auburn Cemetery (Figs. 27 and 28), executed in 1874 when he was at Rome at the height of his short career. Although it incorporates the best of what Milmore was able to achieve, it has passed hitherto strangely unnoticed.[2] No one, I suppose, as he comes upon this Angel of the Resurrection in wandering through the softly melancholy paths of Mount Auburn, can remain insensible to its chastened beauties and contemplative exaltation. The modest virtues that we have allowed to Milmore have here begun to enter upon their fruition — the staid reten-

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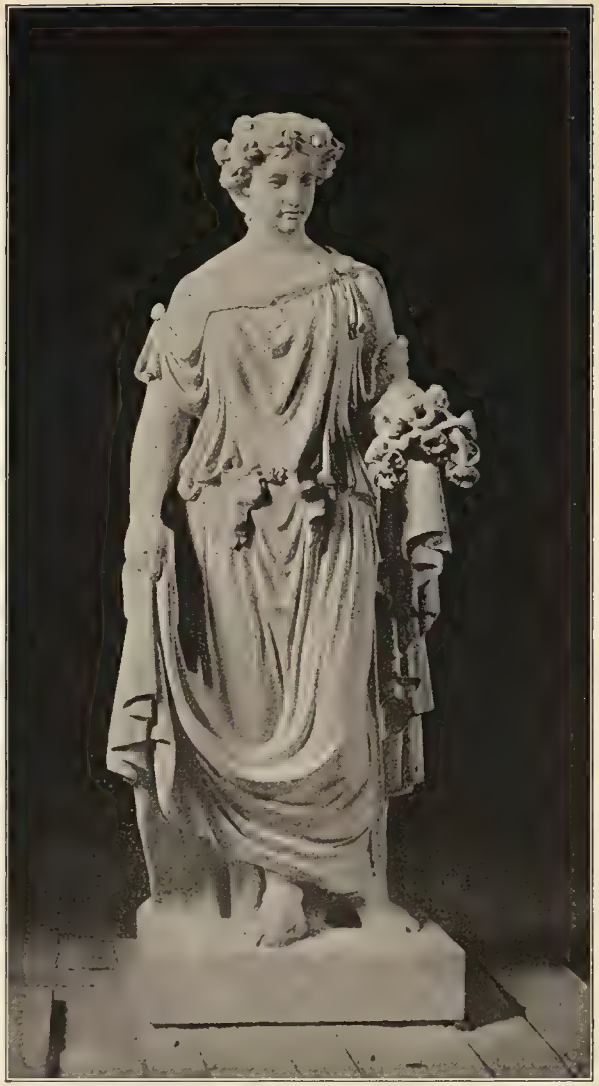
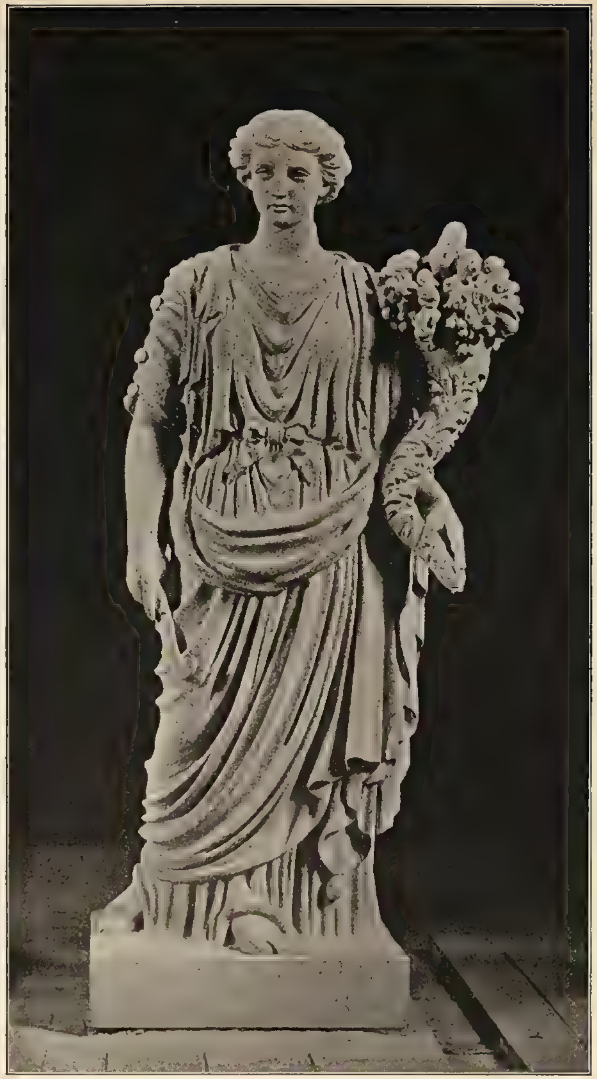
[1] The photographs are kindly loaned to me by Mr. William Sumner Appleton of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. He has communicated to me the following results of the research that he courteously undertook at my request in regard to these statues. "When the building was pulled down, they were sold to Benjamin P. Ware of the Clifton House, Marblehead, who set them up in the hotel grounds. There the figures received bad treatment by would-be jokers. A nose was broken, and all three figures, I believe, were painted red. After the burning of the Clifton House, the figures received still more bad treatment before taking a trip to the North Shore. I have run them down to the Spaulding place in Beverly Farms, and Mr. Spaulding tells me that, when he sold the place to Mr. Burrage, the statues were still on the grounds in their unopened crates." The colossal size of the works may be gauged by a comparison with the figure of a man who stands in a doorway at the left in the illustration of the Ceres.

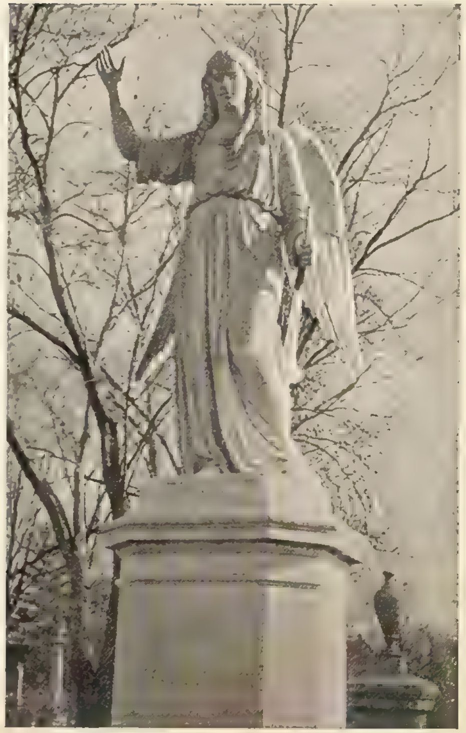
[2] I have used it as an illustration in the short space allotted to Milmore on pages 495 and 496 in the book written in collaboration by Professor G. H. Chase and me, *A History of Sculpture*, New York, 1924.



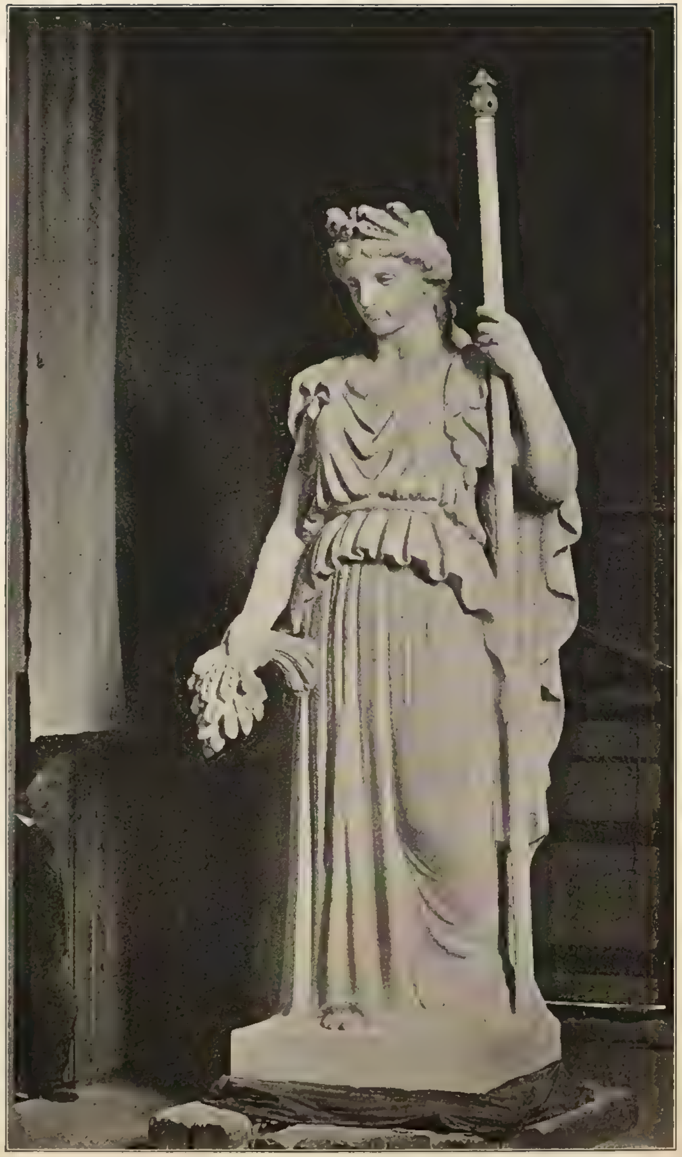
24. Milmore. Flora



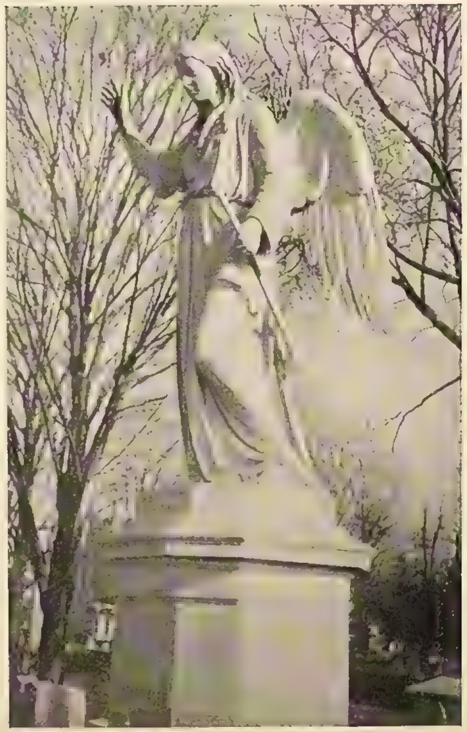
25. Milmore. Pomona



27. Milmore. Coppenhagen Monument.
Mount Auburn Cemetery,
Cambridge, Massachusetts



26. Milmore. Ceres



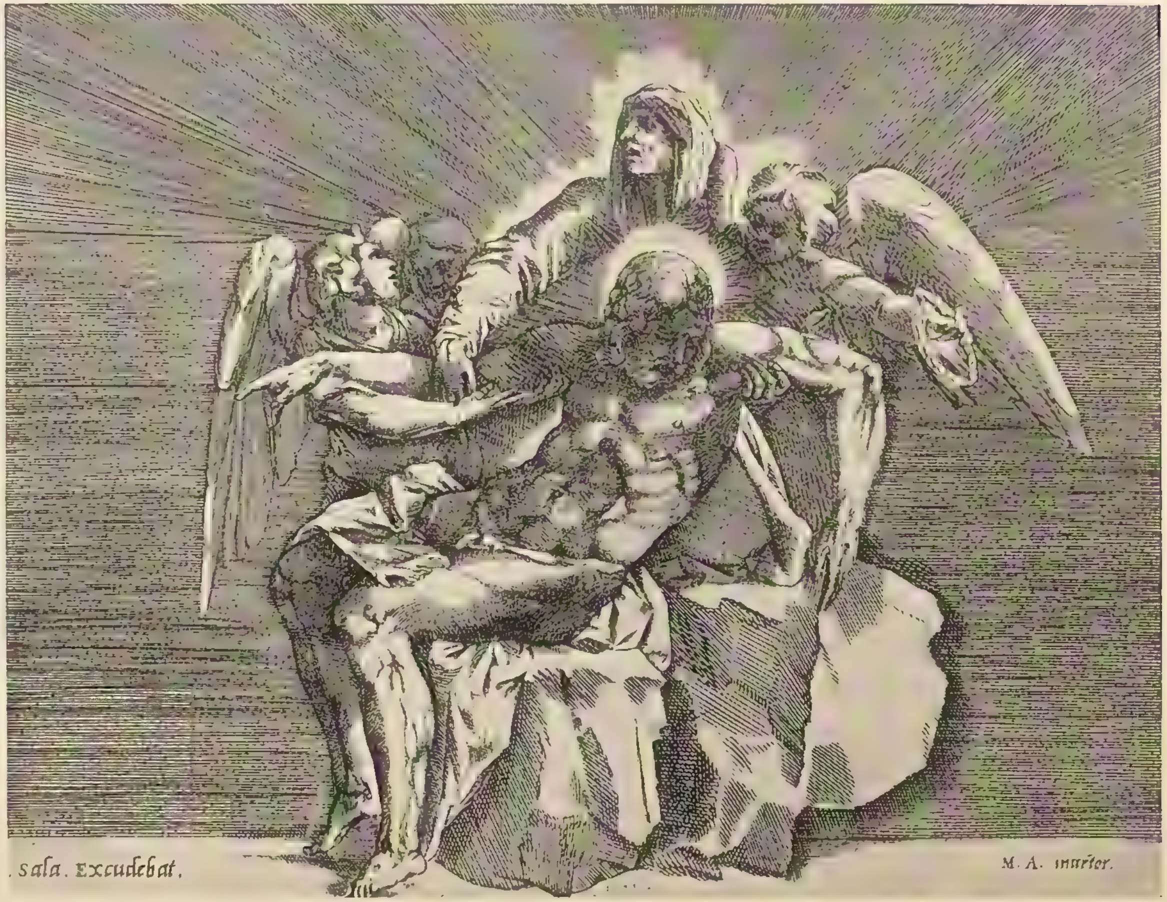
28. Milmore. Coppenhagen Monument.
Mount Auburn Cemetery,
Cambridge, Massachusetts

tion of a static pose in place of the agitated flight of French angels, the freedom of articulation that he had made so brave a struggle to gain, the sober grace of drapery, the transmission to the spectator of the belief in a firm body beneath the gown, the gentleness which he managed to cast over even his masculine portraits but which clothes more naturally and tangibly the ideal form, the planning of the statue so that it may be viewed from all sides with equal effectiveness. The left leg emerges from the robe with an almost Hellenic accentuation of the existence of a form within the folds. The gestures of both arms and even of the fingers are well conceived and carried out. The wings are studied and ennobled into handsome accessories. All details, however, coalesce into a greater impression of monumentality and truly sculptural compactness than in any other of his works. Yet the dignity of the figure does not prove incongruous with delicacy. It is just this union of delicacy of thought and execution with sedateness that creates an analogy to Saint-Gaudens and is a constituent of the poetry of both masters. When I say that in looking at Milmore's Angel I find my thoughts moving forward and resting upon another American sepulchral figure, and that the greatest, the mysterious mourning and brooding woman which Saint-Gaudens has placed against the tomb of Mrs. Henry Adams in Rockcreek Cemetery, Washington, I do not mean to call down opprobrium upon Milmore by claiming for him too much. The Coppenhagen Angel is a cramped and halting performance of a tyro in comparison, and lacks the profundity of significance that is embodied in the Adams Monument; and yet in kind, if not in degree, of attainment it does foreshadow Saint-Gaudens's masterpiece. Both statues are the acme of their authors' capabilities in spiritual expression, and the dominant note of a grave and tranquil poetry is the same. The Angel is Milmore's final success in disencumbering himself of neoclassic reminiscences and in investing a sculptured figure with an individual conception of an ideally treated feminine form and with a real and personal content.

VII

I have written of Milmore as a sculptor of our transitional period, and indeed he never actually emancipated himself from this phase of our artistic evolution. Whether he would have developed into a thoroughly modern sculptor, had he not been cut off in the flower of his promise, it is impossible to say. It is always interesting and perhaps not altogether uninstructive to speculate upon what might have happened in history, if affairs had fallen otherwise than they did. Would Milmore have taken the qualities that he had expressed in the hard, dry style of his epoch and translated them into the more modern manner that Warner and Saint-Gaudens were already beginning to import from France? His contemporaries of the transition, Brown and Ball, survived him, but never succeeded in overcoming the limitations under which they had started; and even Ward, although he lived until 1910, was but slightly affected by the more recent developments. Daniel Chester French, on the other hand, had begun in the old-fashioned manner and continued to work in it until the later eighties, but he then, through study at Paris, had the initiative to transform himself wholly into a master of the modern ways. Milmore, it is to be remembered, was only six years older than French and four years older than Saint-Gaudens, who, however, had never tried his young hand in the more rigid plastic fashions of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It is within the bounds of probability that Milmore, like French, might eventually have sought fresh stimulus at Paris. French's output, prior to his adoption of the new style, was only a little more advanced than that of Milmore and was not such as to have aroused much greater expectations. Milmore had already shown himself possessed of a decidedly progressive nature, striving always for new and better things and always open to new ideas; except for purely religious themes, which were not then congenial to the atmosphere of New England, he had experimented with every kind of subject which at that time fell within the range of sculpture in the United States; he had once ventured into the untrodden path of extreme realism; he had even, apparently without any further suggestion than that of his own intuitive artistic feeling, begun timidly (and again in one instance, boldly) to break up the smoothness of the style in which he had been trained by resorting to an undulation of the surfaces in order to attract upon them a pictorial alternation of lights and shadows. He was fully equipped, therefore, for joining Warner, Saint-Gaudens, and French in taking the final step toward modernism, and his premature death is to be regretted not only because of the distinction of what he was then producing but also because in him we may have lost one who might ultimately have graced the circle of artists who in the latter years of the nineteenth century raised American sculpture to a level of international importance.

AN UNKNOWN PIETÀ BY MICHELANGELO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1. Print of Giulio Sanuti, after an unknown composition of Michelangelo

AN UNKNOWN PIETÀ BY MICHELANGELO

By ERNST STEINMANN[1]

THE Pietà at St. Peter's is the first great work in marble which won Michelangelo his fame in Rome; the Pietà of the Rondanini Palace is, it is said, the last work on which his mallet and chisel resounded. Was there in all his art a problem which moved him more deeply and constantly than the lamentation of the Mother of God over her dead Son?

However, two score years and more lie between the Pietà of St. Peter's and that other Pietà for Vittoria Colonna with which he again took up the theme. The first was ordered in 1497; the second, which Ascanio Condivi has elaborately described,[2] was finished no earlier than the beginning of the 1540s. But when, about the year 1514, Sebastiano del Piombo received the commission to paint the great altar-piece, a Pietà, for S. Francesco in Viterbo, it was Michelangelo, according to Vasari's testimony, who designed the cartoon for his friend, and conceived that grand composition which shows us the dead Christ stretched out on the ground at the feet of the despairing Madonna.[3] Never perhaps have two artists become so nearly one as Michelangelo and Sebastiano in this grandiose creation. The landscape of Sebastiano seems as much charged with the deepest emotion as the figure composition of Michelangelo himself. One feels the dread of that night which surrounds these two solitary forms with a solemn silence. And it is evident how deeply the motive of the Pietà had gripped Michelangelo's inner self — how he delighted to conceive the old, old theme in new forms and to inspire it with a new spirit.

In his youthful work at St. Peter's (Fig. 2a), Michelangelo had a commission to execute; and when he composed the nude corpse of the Christ upon His Mother's knee, he wholly followed the tradition. Only compare this marble group with the picture of Andrea del Castagno's school (Fig. 2b), which bears the date of 1460 and treats the same subject.[4] The position of the bent head of the Madonna, the expressive gesture of her outstretched hand, the downward hanging arm of the dead Christ with the gap between the first and the middle finger — all these are ideas which

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[1] Translation by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.

[2] *Vita di Michelangelo* (Firenze, 1746), p. 53; H. Thode, *Michelangelo*, vol. V, p. 494.

[3] Vasari, (ed. Milanesi), vol. V, p. 568; D'Achiardi, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Roma, 1908), p. 120; Thode, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 401.

[4] Roger Fry, *A Florentine Pietà. Burlington Magazine*, vol. XLII (1923), p. 161.

Michelangelo doubtless borrowed from his older countryman. And yet he is entirely himself in this marble, the youthful bearer of great hopes, to whom the antique still stood nearer than the Christian tradition. In the reproach that Michelangelo has represented the Mother of God as too young lies a deeper meaning than has been usually grasped. Is it not the splendor of his own youth which speaks to us so irresistibly from this block of marble?

The Pietà of Viterbo introduces a completely new treatment of that dramatic mood of protest which still stirred the soul of Michelangelo when, many years later, he designed the famous drawing for Vittoria Colonna (Fig. 3a). On the craggy hill of Golgotha at the foot of the Cross sits a Niobe — Mary with outstretched arms; half-blinded, tearless eyes turned upward, mouth open in protest and lamentation. The powerful body of her Son — a perfect example of manly strength and beauty — is sadly supported between the Mother's knees, while two boys hold up the heavily hanging arms of the dead Christ. Precisely so, decades earlier, Michelangelo had represented the Christ Child with arms outstretched and right foot retracted, half-standing, half-leaning between His Mother's knees (Fig. 3b). How strange and yet how indicative it is of Michelangelo's creative methods, that after long years he still remembers a precious motive which his youthful fancy had created, and is able to adapt it to a new conception.[1] The pen drawing which represents this group — Mary, the Christ Child, and little St. John — belongs to the treasures of the Bonnat collection and is to-day preserved in the Louvre.

The original drawing for this unique composition, for which the past gave no precedent, is no longer to be found. Not only Vittoria Colonna possessed this masterpiece of her great friend; Cardinal Pole had also received the Pietà from the very hand of Michelangelo, and offered it as a gift to Cardinal Gonzaga.[2]

Numerous copies testify to the rapidly extending fame of this work: pictures and reliefs in stone (Fig. 3c) and bronze, and prints of the best engravers of the sixteenth century, are preserved in great numbers.[3]

Withal it seems that the imagination of Michelangelo never afterwards could tear itself away from this most profound symbol of the greatest tragedy of humanity. These representations of the Pietà one may call the most powerful poetic inventions of his old age. The problem of finding ever new expression for the heavy weight of a body sinking in death equally engrossed the artist and the anatomist; to the melancholy spirit of the solitary thinker consolation and refreshment were vouchsafed, when he could sink his own

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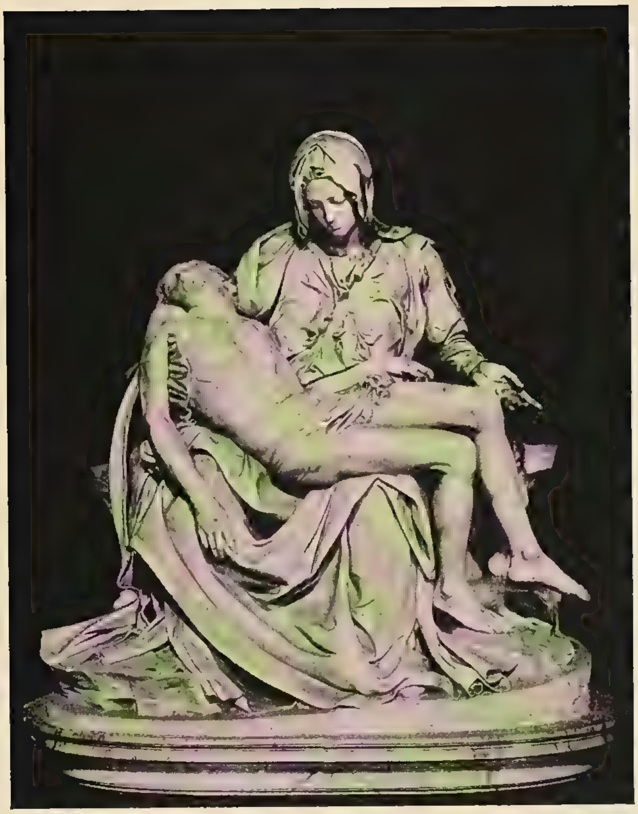
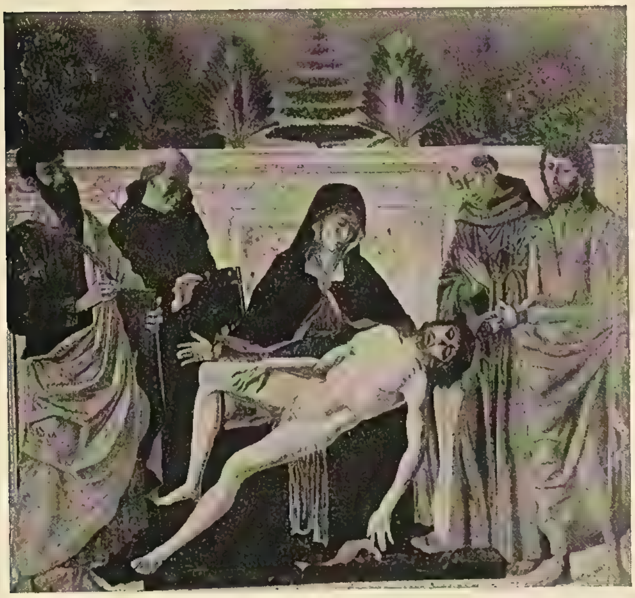
[1] Louis Demonts, *Les Dessins de Michelange* (Paris, 1921), p. 12, pl. 6 *recto*. Here is collected all the literature about this drawing.

[2] Karl Frey, *Michelangelo Buonarroti. Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. I (Berlin, 1907), p. 139. Letter from the Bishop of Fano to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, May 12, 1546.

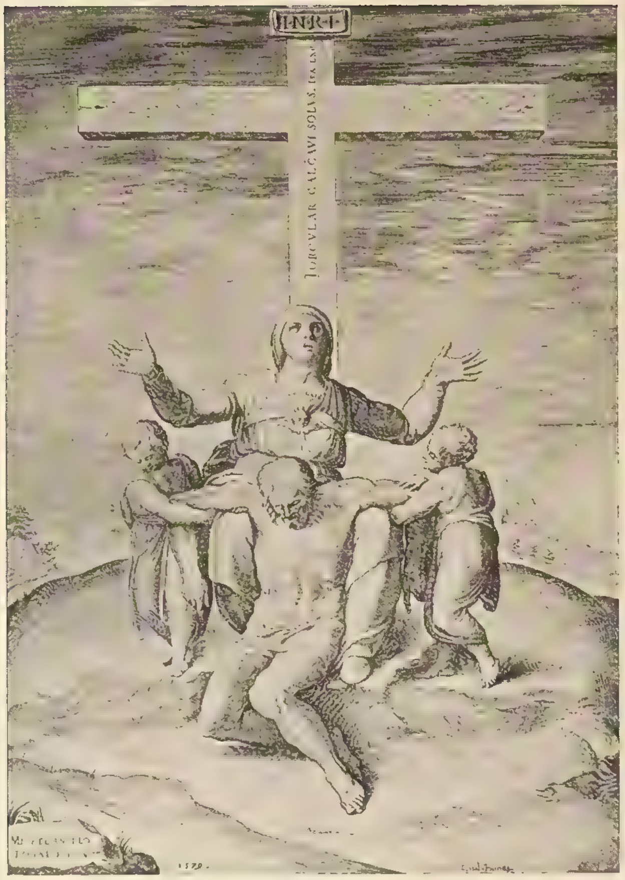
[3] Collected by H. Thode, *Michelangelo*, vol. V, p. 492.



2a. Pietà. St. Peter's, Rome



2b. Pietà. School of A. Castagno, from the *Burlington Magazine*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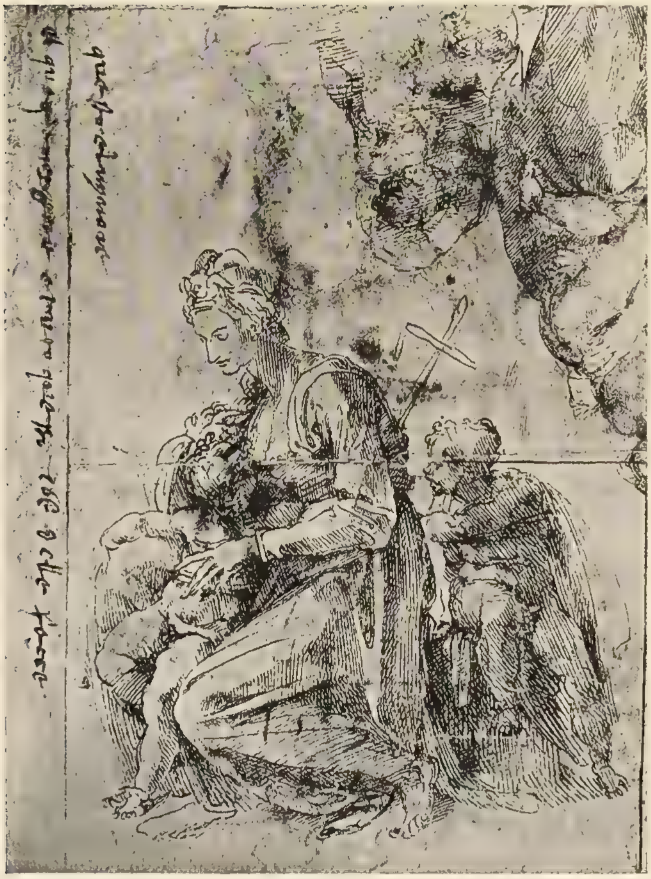
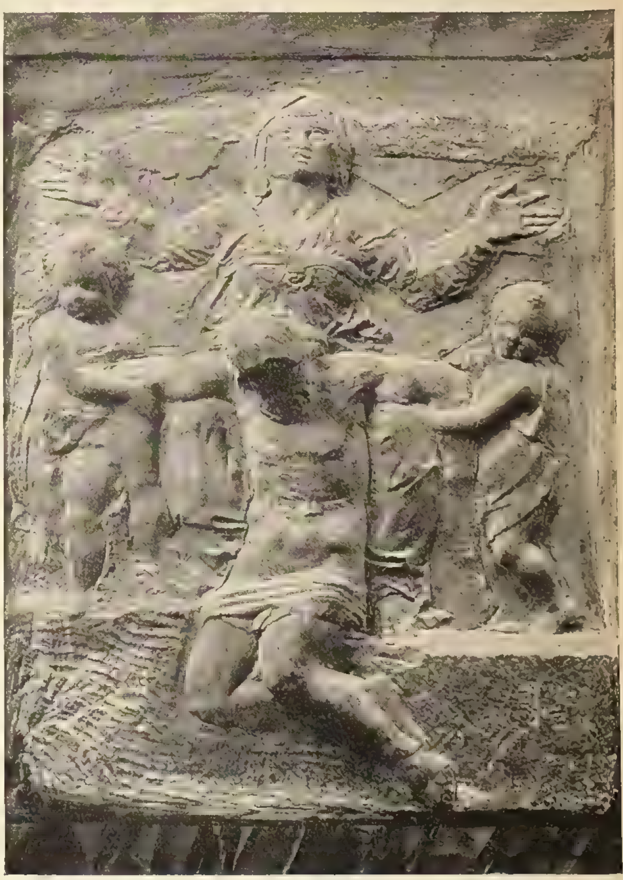
TORCVLAR CALCAVI SOLVS

3a. Pietà for Vittoria Colonna, after the print of Agostino Carracci



3b. Drawing by Michelangelo in the Louvre



3c. Relief in marble in the Vatican library sorrow in the breast of the Mother of God. The most splendid drawings, the most remarkable sculptures in stone, still bear witness to us how Michelangelo in these later years of his life sought calm and rest for his ever-restless heart.

Blaise de Vigenère declares that he saw, in 1550, Michelangelo at work on a great marble Crucifixion with ten or twelve life-size figures.[1] Among the master's effects in the house on Macel de' Corvi was found not only that unfinished Pietà in marble which to-day is preserved in the Palazzo Rondanini, but also a great cartoon of the Pietà, with nine figures.[2] Another cartoon, which represented Christ with His Mother and is not more closely described, fell to Tommaso Cavalieri as a bequest from his great friend. Are we also concerned with a Pietà here? Or was the parting of Christ from His Mother depicted, — *Christo che si parte dalla madre,* — as seems probable from a letter which Daniello Ricciarelli wrote on March 17, 1564, to Leonardo Buonarroti? [3]

Throughout these representations of the Pietà from Michelangelo's last years, one finds confirmed a thought to which he repeatedly gives expression in his poems — namely that the true artist should represent himself in his work.[4] Already in the marble Pietà defaced by himself,[5] which since the year 1722 has been exhibited behind the high altar of the Florentine cathedral (Fig. 4a), one is surprised at the restful inspiration which marks the living and the dead. The master had destined this group to adorn his own grave, and has lent his own features to bearded Nicodemus.

The same spirit of deepest peace inspires the main group in the incomparable drawing once in the Warwick collection, now preserved in the British Museum (Fig. 4b). In restrained and silent grief Mary regards the entirely revealed body which rests on her lap. Passionately moved figures press in, — like the chorus of a Greek tragedy, — uttering loud lamentations about the Mother and Son.[6]

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[1] *Les images des deux Philostrates,* etc. (Paris, 1615), p. 853.

[2] Fabio Gori, *Archivio,* vol. I (1875), p. 16; Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti,* vol. I, p. 356; Thode, vol. V, p. 502.

[3] Gotti, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 357. Also in the still unpublished inventory of Daniello da Volterra's effects, on his death in 1566, there was "*una pietà in cartone de mano de Michelangelo.*" *Arch. di Stato, Roma, Not. Capit. protoc.,* 1772, fol. 307. For the Pietàs in marble left by Michelangelo, see also the *Trattato della pittura e scultura,* by Ottonelli and Pietro da Cortona, which appeared in Florence in 1652, p. 210.

[4] See E. Steinmann, *Die Porträtdarstellungen des Michelangelo* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 46, 47.

[5] See the admirable details of this group (which is so difficult to study in the gloom of the Florentine cathedral) in Alois Grünwald, *Florentiner Studien* (Prag, 1914), Taf. 4. Here we see how Michelangelo, in the unfinished heads of the Mother and Son, has already fully achieved the expression of the deepest and most tender feeling, while all soul and spirit has been wiped out of the head of Mary Magdalene, which was worked over and finished by Tiberio Calcagni.

[6] Herbert Cook, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* vol. XVI (1896), p. 336, sets the famous Warwick drawing even before 1520. To me it seems to belong to a later period. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (London, 1903), vol. II, no. 2486, ascribes the drawing to Sebastiano del Piombo. Thode holds that Michelangelo is its creator, and I can only feel that at least the invention and composition of such a sheet must come from Michelangelo himself.

And a like endeavor to endue the sorrow of Mary with nobility, to make it inward, and to keep it apart from all expressions which men commonly use to show their grief, we meet in his Crucifixions of these days, designs which were ever renewed and revised for Vittoria Colonna. In a sketch executed in black chalk, which has passed from the Malcolm collection to the British Museum, Mary and John have pressed close to the body of the Crucified, which seems to hover serenely over them like an understanding spirit.[1] John opens his arms wide in lamentation, his anguished look directed upwards. But Mary has no longer a word, no longer a tear. She rests her head on the thigh of her Son, and her right arm is raised, as if she would hide the kiss with which her lips touch lightly the cold body of her Son. The sentiment with which this composition is imbued is so sacred and flamelike that one hardly dares touch it in words. Nothing in the representations of the Crucifixion in all times and peoples is comparable to this now veiled and half-effaced creation of Michelangelo's.

In the Pietà of the Palazzo Rondanini (Fig. 4c) all this development finds its logical conclusion.[2] No women, no men mar the deep accord between Mother and Son. It is fitting that with this composition Michelangelo should take leave of his deeply beloved art. *Consummatum est!* No more weeping. The unassailable tranquillity of death had descended equally upon Mother and Son, and, after all the storms of life, has returned to Michelangelo's own soul. So wave after wave breaks on life's strand, until at length the last undulation dies away in tones more felt almost than heard.

But however deeply the hitherto known Pietàs permit us to look into Michelangelo's soul, up to now we have lacked an important link in the complicated chain of these compositions. That singular representation of the Pietà which till now has hardly been mentioned in the master's life-work, which even Thode, though he has collected these compositions with the greatest care, seems never to have seen, this deep-felt lamentation about the dead body of Christ, — this composition preserved for us only in a nearly unattainable print of a well-nigh unknown engraver (Fig. 1), — leads us back once more to the tumultuous sea of human passion and sorrow.[3]

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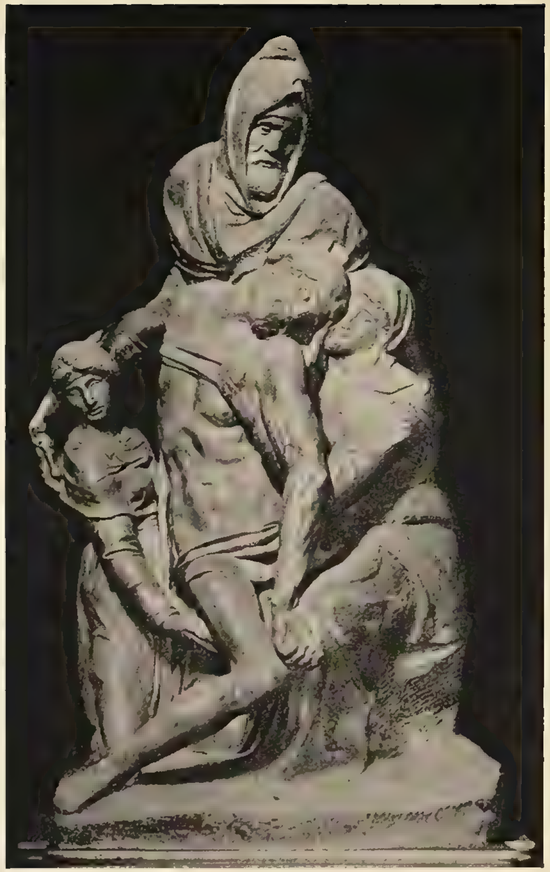
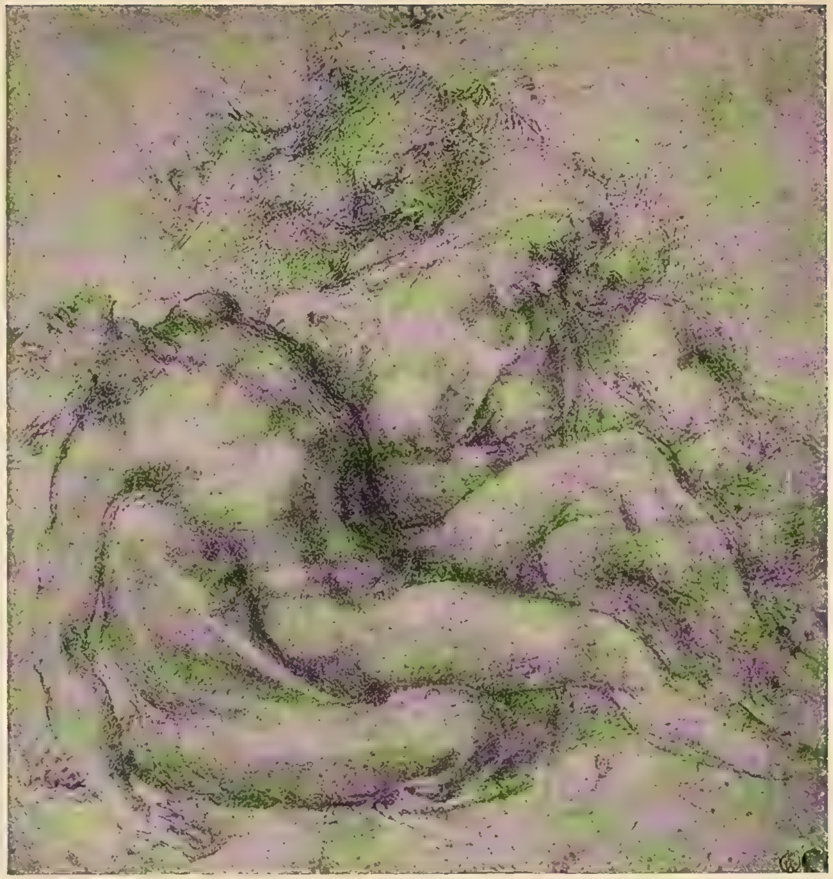
[1] J. C. Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings by the Old Masters forming the Collection of John Malcolm* (London, 1876), p. 29, no. 73. A good reproduction in Braun et Cie., *Choix de cinquante dessins de Michelange* (Paris, 1923), pl. 21. In a reproduction appearing the same year, O. Zoff, *Die Handzeichnungen des Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Potsdam, 1923, all beauties of the original are lost. Whoever has grasped the real characteristics of Michelangelo's art, in the depth and power of its expression, in its always reserved representation of states of soul, will necessarily exclude the Burial of Christ, in the National Gallery, in London, from the autographic works of the master.

[2] The studies for this Pietà which show us the handling of the composition in ever new phases (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) have recently been published again by the Vasari Society, second series, vol. IV (1923), no. 4.

[3] We read in Thode, vol. V, p. 492: "A print, which Heinecken (vol. I, p. 391) mentions and which is signed M. A. inventor and A. Salamanca, I have not seen." Actually Heinecken mentions this print under no. 26 (*Nachrichten von Künstlern und Kunstsachen*, Leipzig, 1768). But it seems that he too had not seen the print since he gives



4a. Pietà in the Cathedral in Florence



4b. Pietà. Drawing from the Warwick Collection, now in the British Museum

Resignation at the beginning; resignation at the end! But between lies the composition of Vittoria Colonna, with that heroic Mother who in reproachful grief raises her eyes and her hands toward heaven. And what here still reverberates only in muffled tones, finds in the print of Giulio Sanuti its final, highest, and most passionate expression.

As in the Pietà at St. Peter's, as in the David and Bacchus in Florence, as in the Madonna at Bruges, so also here a block of stone, with its natural cracks and inequalities, gives the basis for the composition of the artist whom a passion for the stone ever swayed. The heavy body of the Crucified bends forward against the block. The linen cloth, which swathed the Dead, remains clinging only on the right thigh, but it protects the body, which sinks heavily backward, from contact with the cold stone. Rude Michelangelo everywhere in his art reveals the tenderest feeling. Above on the stone block, behind the Dead, Mary kneels. With the expenditure of her last strength, with the fire of her deepest grief she has drawn the dead body of her Son upon her knees and holds up His sagging arms with her supporting hands. The folds of a heavy mourning cloak frame her aged and haggard face. One seems to see a big tear shining on her cheek. In our poor print all the expression of grief is concentrated in the upward glance and in the half-open mouth. How effective must have been this expression of grief too deep for words in Michelangelo's drawing![1]

Mother and Son are no longer alone. Three angels with mighty pinions have joined them.[2] The head of one is just seen in the background. The other has taken the crown of thorns from the Crucified and bends with childish curiosity to see the body as it settles down. The third angel helps the Mother to hold up the left arm of the Dead, and as he looks up at Mary, shows in his expression his powerlessness to bring comfort to such a grief.

Certainly here no one could any longer reproach the master for making the Madonna too young. How old she has become! And never in his designs for the Passion has Michelangelo represented the Christ at once so old and so distorted as here.

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the inscription at the left incorrectly. It runs: *Ant. Sala excudebat.* So in Pietro Zani, *Enciclopedia delle Belle Arti, Parte 2ª*, vol. VIII (Parma, 1821), p. 203. The reproduction is from a print in the left-hand direction. Concerning Salamanca, who was rather a dealer than an engraver, and his shop in the Campo de' Fiori, Fr. Ehrle writes exhaustively, *Roma prima di Sisto V, Roma,* 1908, p. 13; and Ozzola, L., *Gli editori di Roma nei secoli XVI e XVIII,* in *Repertorium,* vol. XXXIII (1910), p. 400. Passavant (*Peintre-Graveur* [Leipzig, 1864], vol. V, p. 105) first designated Giulio Sanuto Veneziano as the engraver of this very rare print. About him we know only that he lived about 1540 and probably worked much at Rome. Passavant saw an example in the Quandt collection at Frankfurt-a-M. Other copies are in the Corsiniana and in the Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome.

[1] Outline copies of this composition are found in Landon, *Vies et oeuvres des peintres les plus célèbres* (Paris, 1805), *Oeuvre de Michelange,* and in Duppa, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti* (2d ed., London, 1807), p. 334, and pl. 7.

[2] We find angels with wings only exceptionally in Michelangelo; for example, in his representations of the Annunciation.

And when we consider the wonderful drawings of this same time, which represent the Risen Christ, — how always beardless, young, and hovering lightly or pressing strongly up out of the night of the grave, He struggles heavenwards — then indeed we feel once more how deep are the thoughts which Michelangelo has embodied in his art.[1]

How directly the mighty graphic diction of Michelangelo must have revealed itself in this drawing! We still catch its echo in the engraver's weak copy. Already in the Deluge on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel we see a dead body sinking down with outstretched arms, which helpful hands try to hold up.

And what countless experiments has not Michelangelo as an anatomist later devoted to this engrossing problem! Jean François Millet felt shaken to his deepest soul when he saw in the Louvre (Fig. 4a) that magnificent drawing of a dead Christ, which one may regard as a study, in reversed direction, for the Pietà which Giulio Sanuti engraved. "The expression of the relaxed muscles, the planes and the modelling of that form exhausted by physical suffering gave me a whole series of impressions," writes Millet. "I saw the man who had done this was able in a single figure to represent all the good and evil of humanity." [2]

We have no direct studies for the print of Giulio Sanuti, just as we have none for the composition for the Marchioness of Pescara. A red chalk drawing which might be claimed as that for the head of Mary has been correctly designated by Berenson as a study for the Doni Madonna.[3] But we see that here also, in the peculiar turn of the head of Mary, Michelangelo has cast back to a youthful motive. So it is with the outstretched arm of the Savior. Precisely such is the gesture of the arm and hand of God in the Creation of Adam, in the Sistine Chapel.

And so we ask in amazement, How could such a creation which conveys the very style of Michelangelo in such purity, which marks a climax in the development of one of his most admirable motives — how could such a creation in his life-work become wholly forgotten? Did he only make a drawing for this composition, as was the case with the Pietà for the Marchioness of Pescara? Or may we identify Sanuti's print with one of those cartoons, which on Michelangelo's death were left over in his house? Or have we to do with

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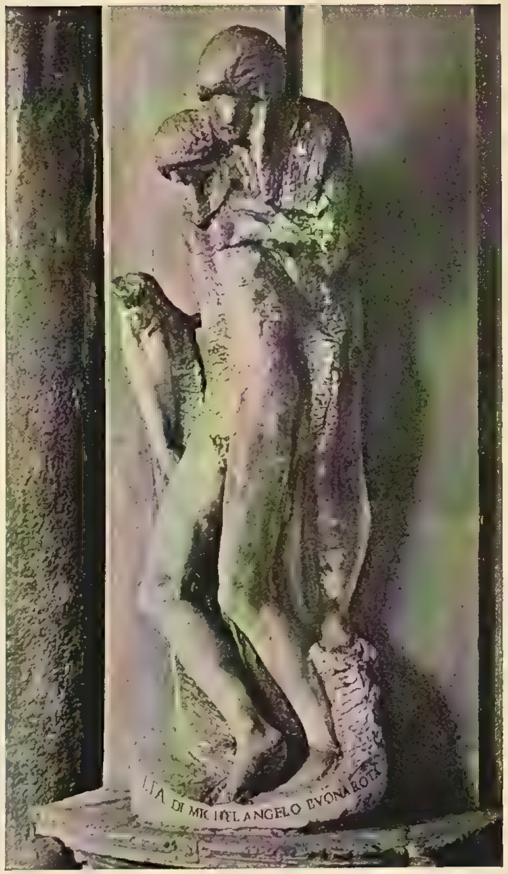
[1] The most beautiful drawings of Michelangelo which represent the Resurrection are preserved in London in the British Museum and in Windsor Castle.

[2] This letter is given in the biography of Millet by Julia Cartwright. Also Borough Johnson, *The Drawings of Michelangelo* (p. 14), cites the entire passage. Reproduction in Berenson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pl. 142, no. 1586, "doubtless for a Pietà." Thode, vol. V, p. 490, III, agrees. Frey (*Die Handzeichnungen Michelangelos*, Taf. 24) unaccountably rejects the interpretation of the subject as a dead Christ.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 1400. See Frey, *Die Handzeichnungen*, Taf. 52.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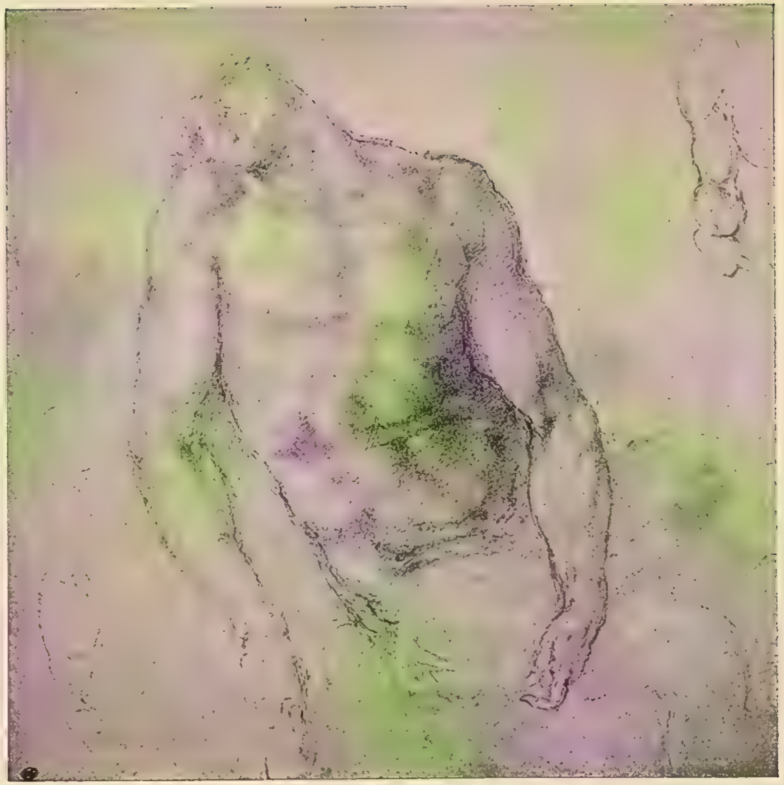
4c. Pietà of the Palazzo Rondanini



4d. Drawing of the Dead Christ in the Louvre

a work of the master, begun in marble, which like so many others was never finished and disappeared?[1]

However that may be, this composition of Michelangelo's must have had a peculiar fate, else it would not have slipped so entirely out of man's memory. Not a single copy, not a picture, not a drawing, not a bronze is known to-day which embodies and repeats Sanuti's mysterious engraving.

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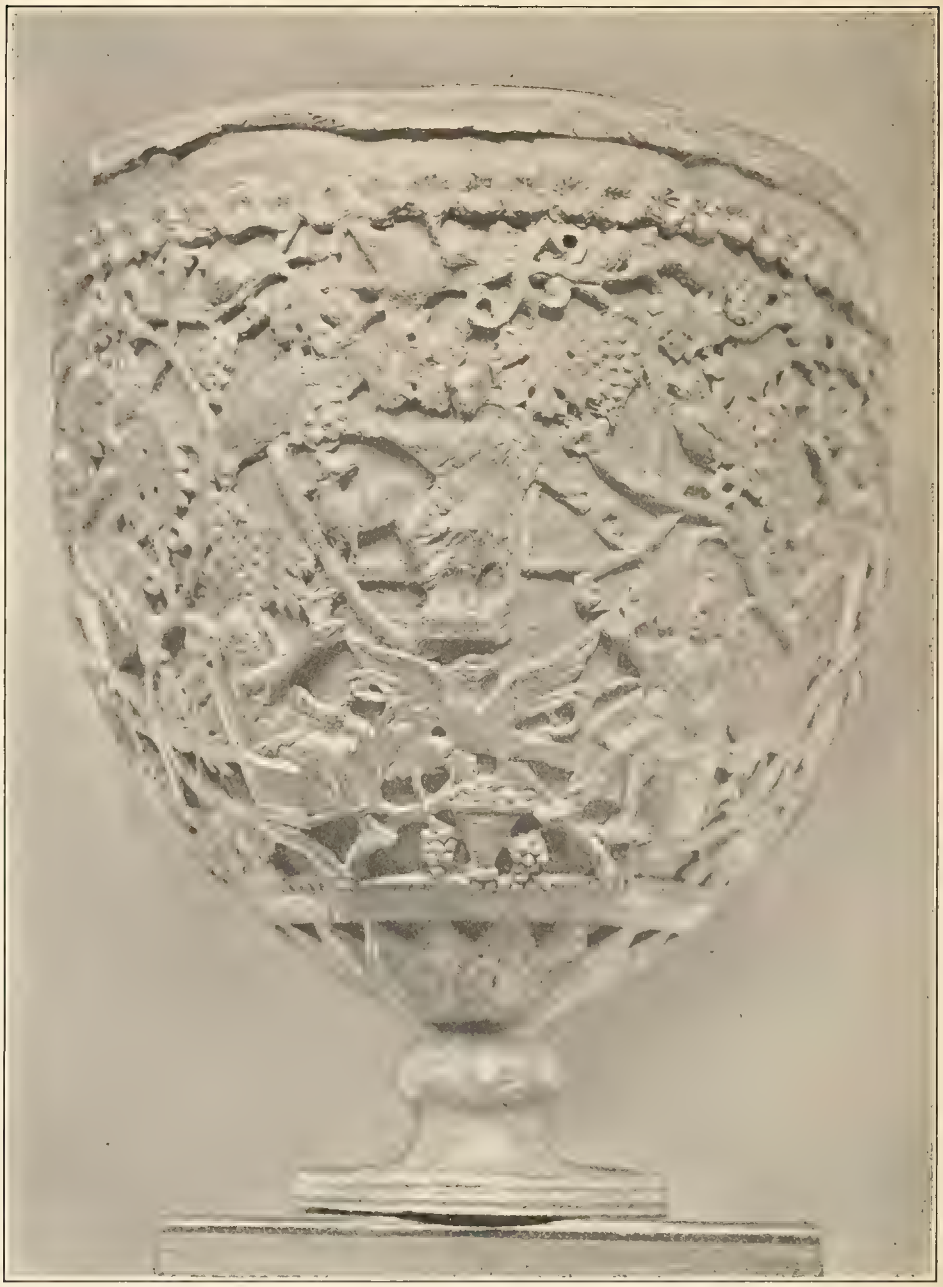
[1] One cannot imagine the invention of Girolamo Campagna's Pietà in the church of S. Giuliano in Venice without a strong influence from Michelangelo. More narrowly, the relation seems to be of the print of Sanuti, with a bronze plaquette in the Berlin Museum. It has been published by Bange, *Die italienischen Bronzen des Renaissance und des Barock* (Berlin, 1922), p. 8, no. 49. I think it very probable that plaquettes may yet be found which render more truly that composition of Michelangelo which has been transmitted to posterity by Sanuti.

THE CHALICE OF ANTIOCH



1. Chalice of Antioch (from *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1916)

THE CHALICE OF ANTIOCH

By CHARLES RUFUS MOREY

The object which is the subject of this paper is said to have been found by Arabs, while digging a cellar or a well, in the city of Antioch. It purports to be part of a treasure, the rest of which belongs to the sixth century, as is clear from its style. The find was made in 1910, we are informed; after which the objects of the treasure became dispersed, and were only collected, to be bought as a whole, two years later. The purchaser of the treasure was the firm of Kouchakji Frères, of Paris and New York. The chalice was brought by them from Syria to Paris, and removed to New York on the eve of the Great War in 1914. It seems to have crossed the ocean twice, having been in New York before the oxidation was cleaned off, and then sent to Paris for cleaning and restoration, after which it was brought to New York again.[1]

The chalice (Fig. 1) consists of three parts. One is an inner cup of silver of very crude workmanship, the rim consisting of a doubling back, in an unfinished way, of the silver sheet itself. This inner cup is contained in an elaborate outer envelope of perforated work, in silver; the third portion is the solid silver foot. The connection of the three is not clear; in the first publication of the chalice, Dr. Eisen said that the outer envelope was soldered to the inner cup; in the two-volume work which he published on the chalice in 1924, he states that the inner cup and the outer envelope were entirely separate. We are not told whether the foot was soldered to the chalice when found, or not. The band of rosettes which terminates the decoration of the outer envelope at its top seems to have been soldered, already in antiquity, to a thin silver band that runs around the cup beneath them. This is stated by Dr. Eisen in the publication of the chalice issued by Kouchakji Frères in 1924. In one spot the inner cup is badly oxidized, but this oxidation does not seem to have affected the outer envelope to the extent that one would expect. Before the chalice was cleaned, it was coated with a thin layer of oxidation, as may be seen from photographs taken before the cleaning. This layer is, to judge from the photographs, quite even and regular, and has the appearance of a deposit.

The chalice has excited the widest interest, first of all as a product of that much-discussed centre of Christian art — Antioch in Syria. It was brought to public attention in fact just at the time when Strzygowski was having his first success in interesting the public as well as the learned world in the theory of the Oriental origins of early Christian art. The opinions concerning the date of the chalice have varied greatly. There are those, notably Sir Martin Conway and Froehner, who believe it to be of the same date as the rest of the treasure, that is, of the sixth century. There are others, among them, I believe, Mr. Dalton of the British Museum, who assign it to the fourth century. There are still others, among them Strzygowski himself, who do not hesitate to put the chalice into the first century, the date maintained by Dr. Eisen in the publication referred to above.

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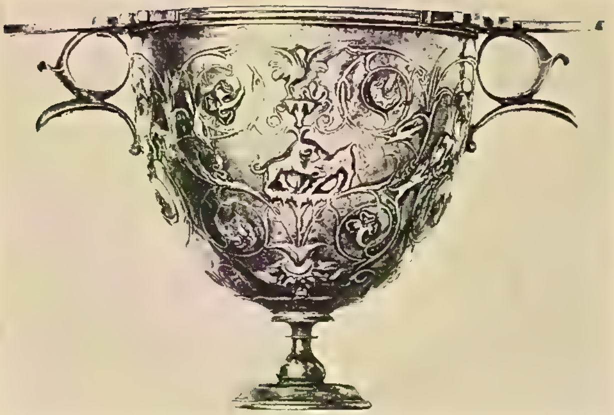
[1] Letter of Gustavus Eisen to the writer, January 3, 1919.

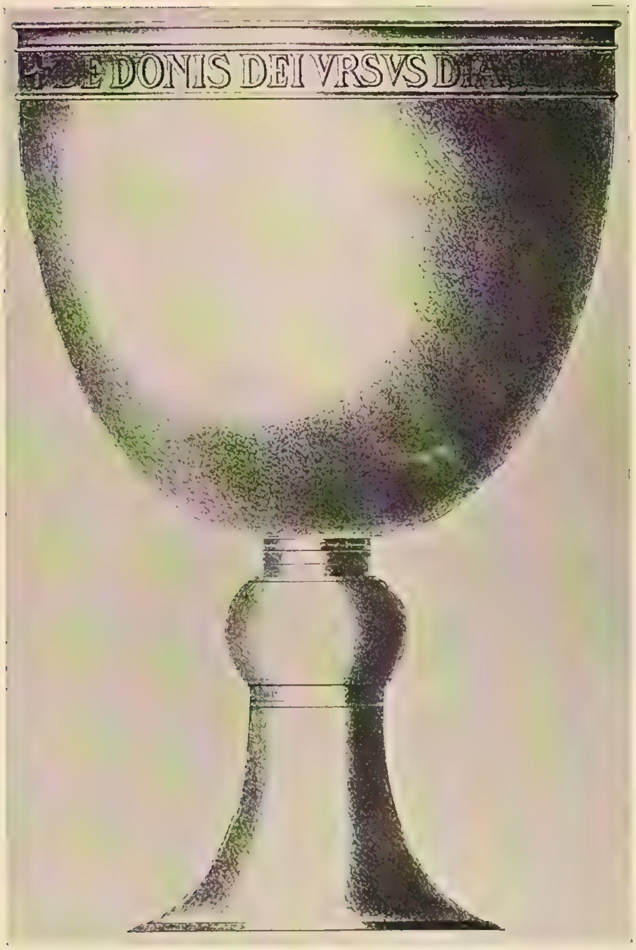
If the chalice belongs to the treasure, it would be natural at first to assign it to the same sixth century that produced the rest of the find. But it might be a precious object preserved for centuries, and thus of earlier date than the rest of the treasure. This consideration leaves the *terminus a quo* open, and the advocates of the first century have even gone so far as to see in the chalice the Holy Grail itself. That is, it has been suggested that the crude inner cup is the Holy Grail, which was encased in the outer envelope some time in the first century, and then preserved in the church treasure of Antioch, to be discovered, along with the other ecclesiastical objects of the treasure, in 1910.

The advocates of the first century have very strong arguments in the shape of the vase as a whole, and in the technique of the figures. The low foot is particularly characteristic of silver vases of the first century, as anyone may see by noting the common occurrence of this type of foot in the silver finds of the first century (Fig. 2), such as those of Boscoreale and Bernay, and the prevalence of the high foot in vases, actual or pictured, of the fourth century and later (Fig. 3). The Antioch chalice does not flare so much as the Bernay and Boscoreale vases, but this would be accounted for by the fact that the silversmith who did the outer envelope, which determines the shape of the vase, was controlled to some extent by the shape of the smaller cup inside. The shape of the chalice would classify it, by this criterion alone, in a period no later than the first century A.D.

The figure-style also points to the first century, if to any period of antiquity (Fig. 4). The artist moves readily from one plane to another, and courts projections, though not to the marked extent of the workmen of the Boscoreale and Bernay vases. But he has not at any rate that adherence to one-plane relief that we find in works from the fourth century on, such as the silver casket of Projecta in the British Museum, and the Brivio box. Nor has he any preference for flat smooth planes and few of them, which are characteristic of later works, but rather an impressionistic modelling which, so far as it approaches any technique in antiquity, can be paralleled only in the realistic modelling of the late Hellenistic style. He is also not nearly so monotonous in his formulae as are the later craftsmen, although here again he is not the equal in invention and variety of the Boscoreale workmen. If the technique of the figures be considered as one of our criteria, the chalice would thereby be at-



2. Vase from Boscoreale
(from *Monuments Piot*, 1897)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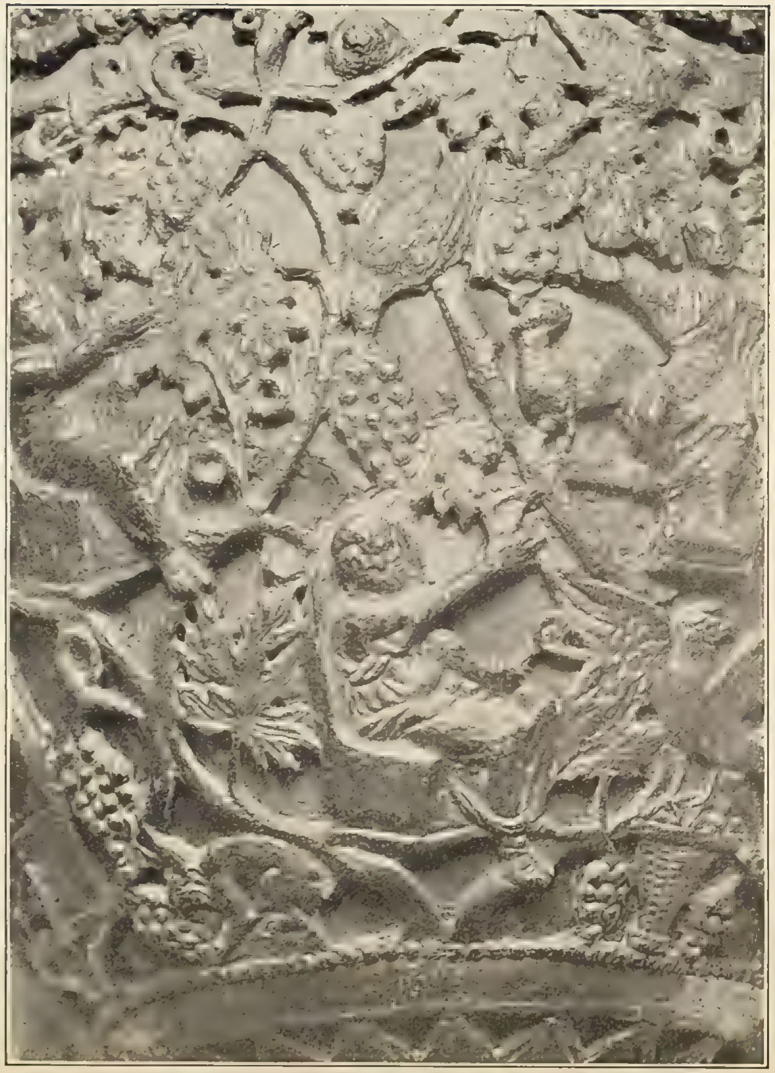
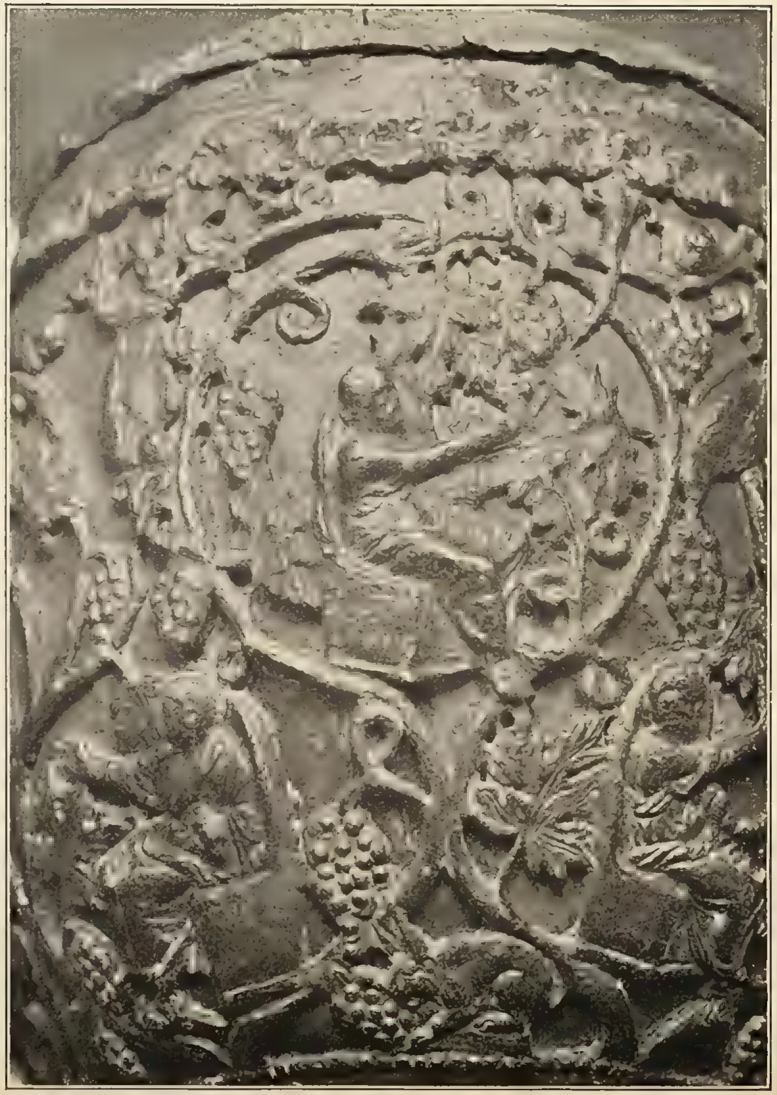
3. Silver Chalice of Lamon, Italy;
VI–VIII Century



4. Chalice of Antioch: Detail (from *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1916)



9. Chalice of Antioch: Detail (from *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1916)

tributed to an early imperial period, and quite naturally to the first century A.D., save for the important discrepancy of the colorful impressionism of the figures. Such surface as one finds on these figures is hard to parallel in antiquity at all. It is much more like that summary clay technique that has come into sculpture since the prominence of Rodin.

So far, and in so far as the chalice finds parallel in antiquity, the evidence supports Dr. Eisen's dating in the first century. I have mentioned the two main arguments for this dating; a number of less convincing ones may be found in his publication. When, however, we look at the design of the outer envelope as a whole, we meet something which gives a strong impression of the later ages of antique art.

I refer to the coloristic design of the vine pattern (Fig. 5). This arrangement of a pattern in a rhythmic design against a background, with forms and voids, or lights and darks, alternating at regular intervals, is a style of ornament that begins to make its appearance in the third century A.D. in Asia Minor, and increases its influence on Mediterranean art until it is the prevailing manner in the sixth century. This process may be illustrated by comparing a capital of the early empire with one of the sixth century at Ravenna, and a very good parallel to the chalice design is furnished by a mosaic pavement of Ancona (Fig. 6). The artist of the outer envelope of the chalice evidently planned his pattern in this coloristic manner, or had some such pattern in mind, although it must be confessed that in its detailed execution he was unable to keep his alternations rhythmic, and left many unpleasant stretches of bare stem which are not so apparent in the drawing.

In the scrolls formed by the pattern of his vine he has installed ten seated figures: two figures of a youthful Christ, and two sets of five apostles, one set around each of the Christs. Here too, we meet with discrepancies, one of them having to do with an early date in antiquity, and the other having to do with no date in antiquity at all. The putting of cupids and other mythological or trite decorative figures in the arabesque of a foliate pattern can be paralleled in the work of the early empire, but not the inclusion therein of historical figures or scenes, and especially figures seated like these in very obvious chairs. The nearest parallel to this sort of thing that I have been able to find is furnished by a carved column drum (Fig. 7) of the museum at Constantinople which Strzygowski dates in the fifth century. Here we find shepherds, and a Baptism of Christ, interspersed in the openings of a vine pattern, on a monument dating about the fifth century.

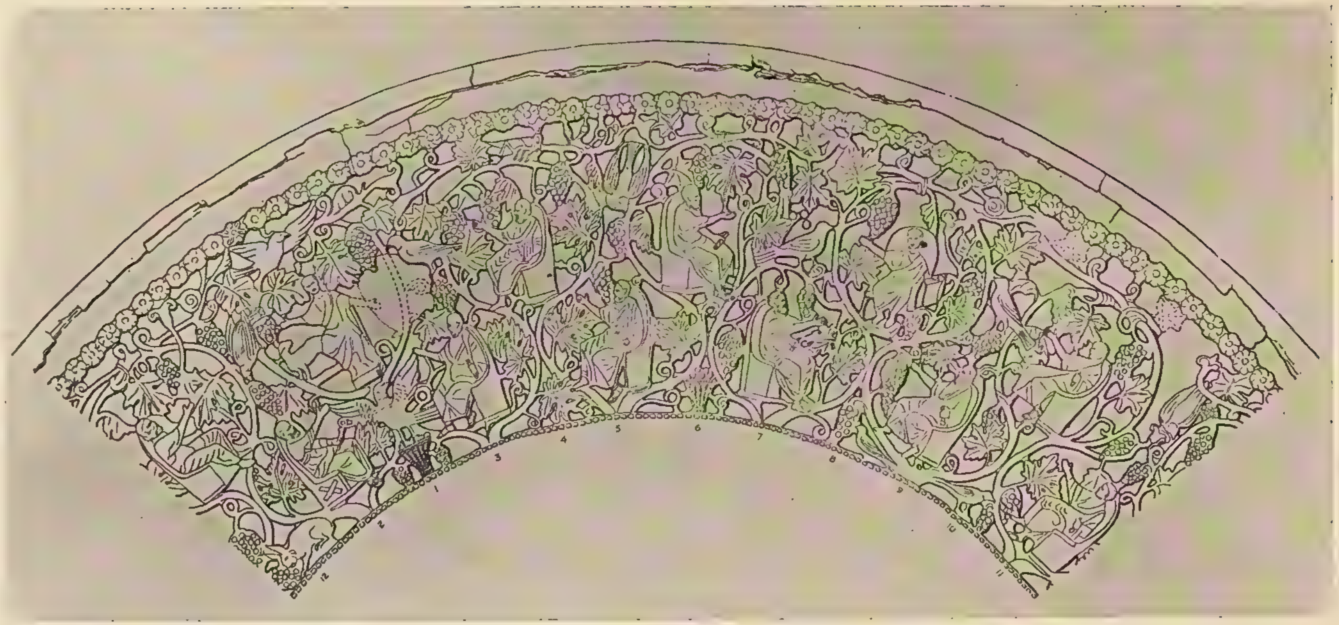
The other discrepancy is the doubling of the figure of Christ in the same composition. One finds this sort of thing in early Christian art when two narrative scenes are juxtaposed, but never in a symbolic composition of this sort, for the simple reason that there is no reason for it. Professor Newbold has suggested that the artist may have meant to represent thus Christ presiding, symbolically, over the two churches of Jerusalem and Antioch. The possibility of some such intention is always present, but there is not, in the whole range of early Christian art, a single example of such symbolic reference to local church history that one can identify. There is a silver vase from Pola on the cover of which Christ is represented in bust, flanked by busts of saints, and below on the body of the vase He appears again in full figure with the full figures of saints standing on either side. But nowhere in early Christian art can one find the repeating of the figure of the Saviour in a symbolic composition like this.

Returning to our points that contradict the early dating, Christ seated in the midst of the apostles occurs on no early Christian monument before the fourth century, and the general trend of Christian art would dissuade us from expecting such a type earlier than that period, because it has the dogmatic and reflective character of the better-organized Christianity of the period after the Peace of the Church.

The differentiation of the apostle types did not begin in early Christian art until the third century at the earliest, so far as we can judge from extant monuments, and then was limited to the isolation of the types of Peter and Paul. On the chalice there is an evident attempt to differentiate the whole ten, although, as was said before, in a very impressionistic way.

Lastly, we have the high-backed chairs on which the apostles sit as indicative of a later date. It is true that such high-backed chairs are found in archaic terra cottas, and Dr. Eisen has pointed out sporadic examples of chairs with half-backs, shoulder high in some cases, on which figures of the Hellenistic period and even the early imperial period, are seated, but these chairs, with backs reaching to the top of the head of the seated person, are familiar objects to the student of early Christian art from the fourth century on, and it is significant that we find no example of them in the catacomb painting before the third century. A catacomb fresco of the fourth century (Fig. 8) will illustrate a very good parallel to the seated figures on the chalice, not only for the chairs but the arrangement about a seated Christ as well.

What then are we to say to a monument that contains such discrepancies within itself? Its shape is characteristically of the first century, and the lively technique of the figures looks early also. The subject represented is on the other hand one that belongs to the later cycles of Christian art; the differentiation of the apostles is not something that would have been done in a very early Christian work so far as we can tell from existing evidence, and the chairs they sit on are earmarks of post-Constantinian representations. We may conclude, somewhat lamely, that we do not know enough about the earliest works of Christian art to be sure that these discrepancies are really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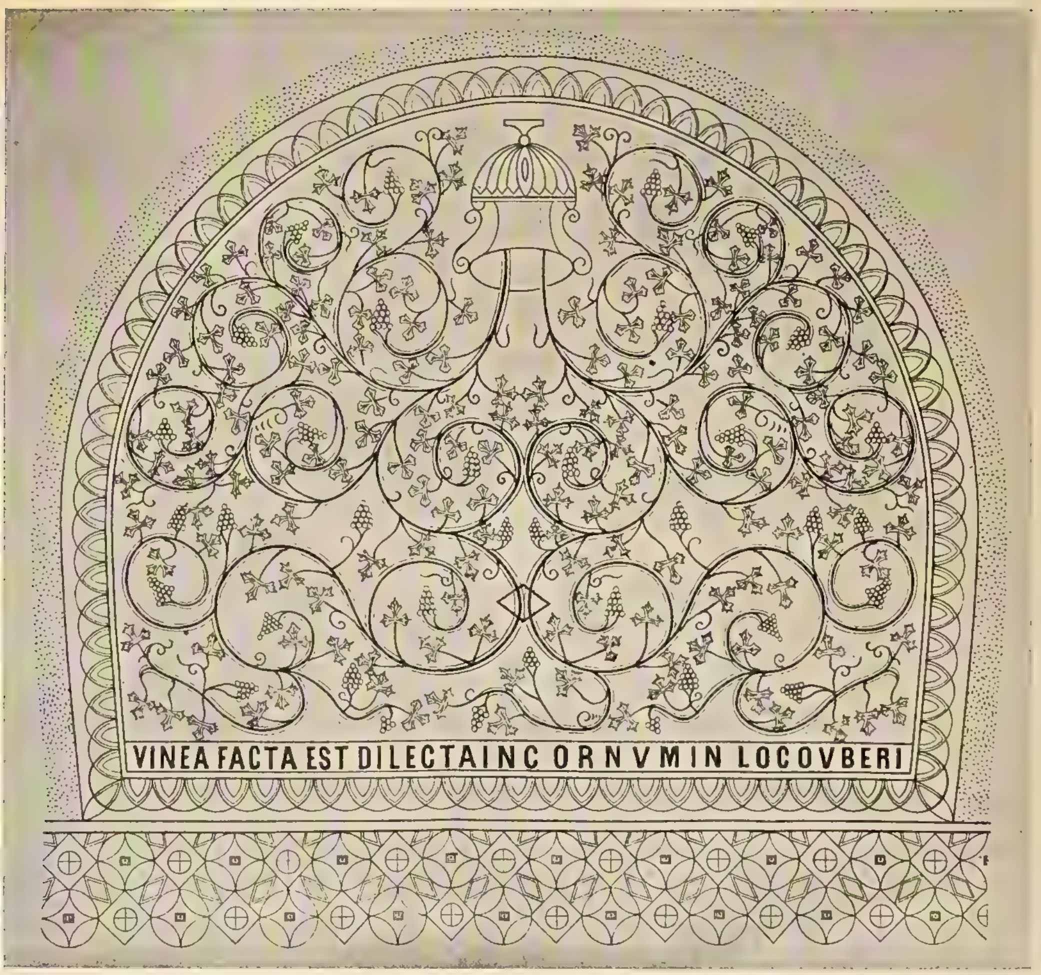
5. Antioch Chalice: Developed Design of the Outer Envelope (from Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch*), New York, Kouchakji Brothers, 1924)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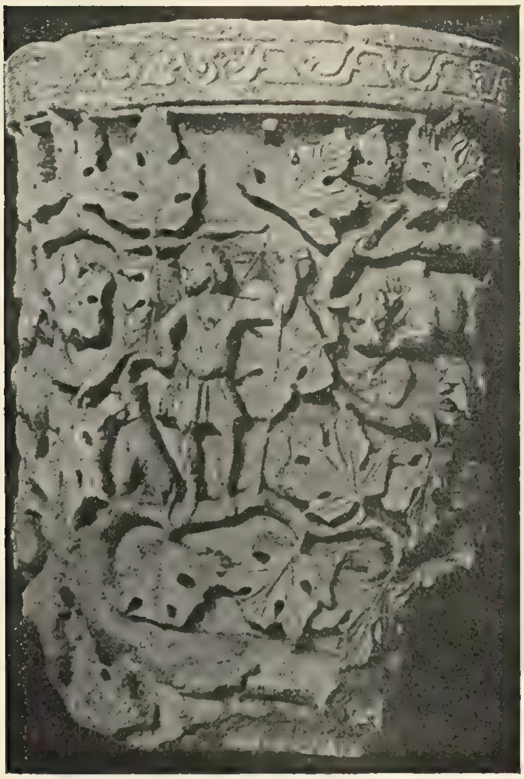
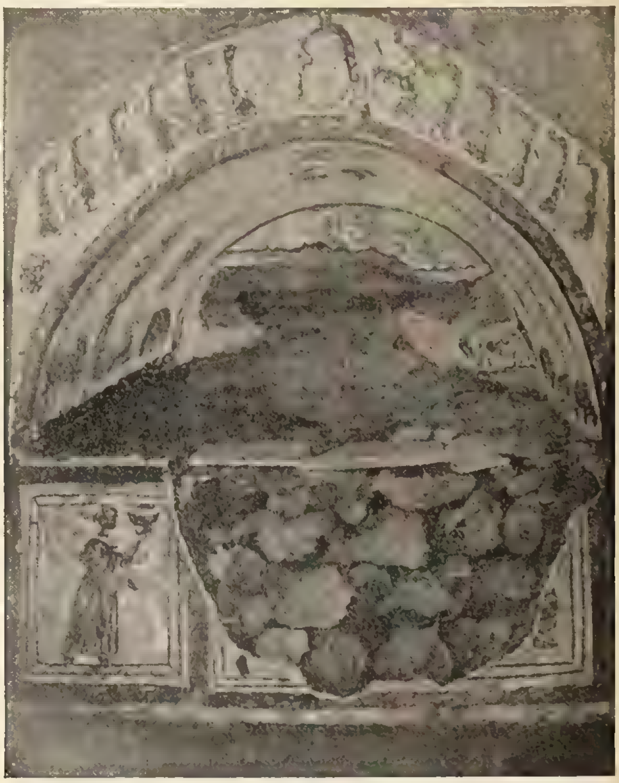
6. Pavement of Ancona; IV Century



7. Carved Drum of Column: Ottoman Museum, Constantinople



8. Fresco in the Catacombs of Rome; IV Century

discrepancies at all, and particularly that we do not know enough about the art of Antioch in the first century A.D. to risk a conclusion that some Antiochene silversmith could not have anticipated later iconography, and could not have invented an example of a coloristic design that preceded by some centuries the prevalence of that sort of design in Mediterranean art. It may be so, but so far as existing monuments show, such Antiochene ateliers of the first century left no school behind them.

On the other hand, we may conclude that the chalice was done in the fourth century, a conclusion that is consistent with the coloristic design of the outer envelope, with the use of the vine as a major motif of decoration, and with the inclusion of the seated figures in it, although the latter is a solecism that one attributes with difficulty to an antique artist. It would be consistent as well with the conception of the seated Christ in the midst of His apostles, and the high-backed chairs in which the apostles are seated (Fig. 9). But here we run against the technique of the figures, which presupposes an antique freshness of conception and modelling that later Syrian work does not lead us to expect in the fourth century, since Syrian style reflects a very halting Hellenism, and one would rather look to Alexandria in the fourth century to produce such lively and realistic figures as these. Lastly we have the first-century shape of the vase in the way of accepting without reserve a dating in the fourth century, and *a fortiori* against a dating in the sixth century.

This brings me to my first impression of the chalice, gained from the reproductions contained in Dr. Eisen's first article on it in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1916. The discrepancies I have noted above impressed me at that time, and I voiced the doubts they aroused in my mind in a paper read at the Christmas meeting of the Archaeological Institute in that year. This paper occasioned a correspondence between Dr. Eisen and myself, and the agreement that I should wait before pursuing the subject further until he had published his work on the chalice.

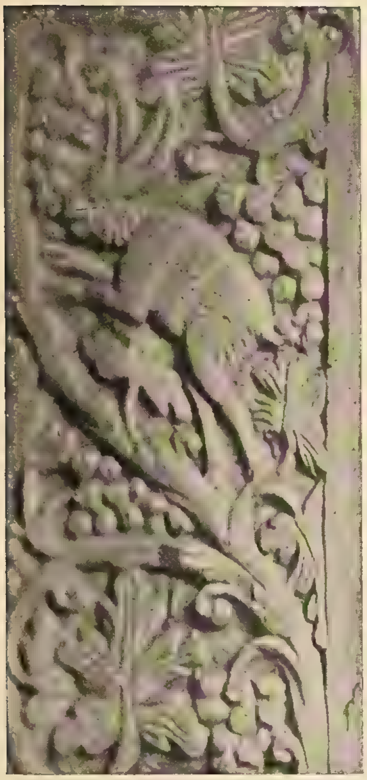
In the meantime I have examined the chalice several times, and must confess that I was impressed with its good appearance as an antique. But a final judgment on so important a monument must take all factors into consideration, and it seems to me that the discrepancies noted above can be explained quite reasonably on the theory that the outer envelope is modern.

We must remember in the first place that there is, archaeologically speaking, no record of the discovery of the chalice. There is also, archaeologically speaking, no assurance that the silver is crystallized, or shows other indubitable signs of great age. It has never, so far as I know, been analyzed or subjected to examination, microscopic or otherwise, with a view to certifying its antiquity. If Dr. Eisen is right in the existence of antique solder under the rosette band, this is not an argument in favor of the antiquity of the outer envelope, since solder is commonly gone in antique finds of silver. The oxidation evinced by the photographs taken before the chalice was cleaned looks as if it might have been the deposit from a bath.

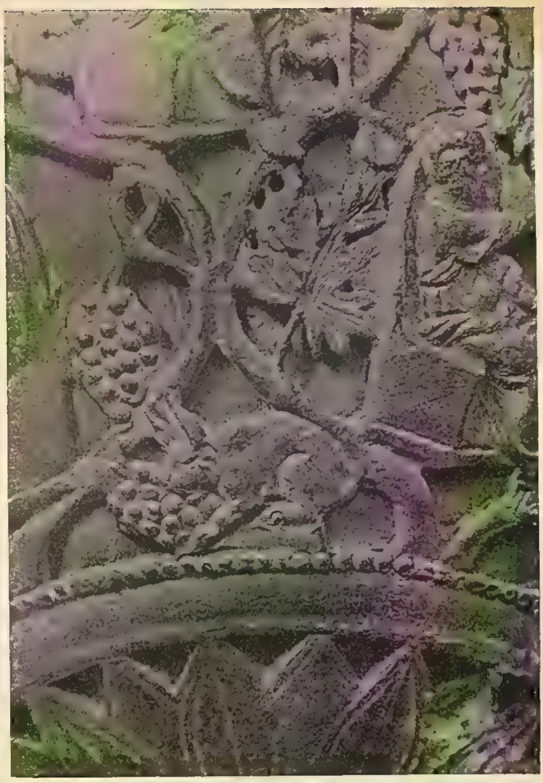
The technique of the chalice is not in its favor. In the period B.C. and particularly in South Russia, we find silver work in which cut-out figures are soldered or nailed to a silver background. We also find, from the first century A.D. on, the use of metal open-work like this on glass backgrounds. But it is very difficult to parallel in the whole of antiquity the use of a perforated pattern in silver against a silver ground. The natural way of making a vase like this in the first century or the fourth is the *crusta*, or metal plate decorated in *repoussé* and fixed against an inner core, after the manner of the Boscoreale and Bernay vases, and the fourth-century examples I have cited.

The technique of the figures cannot be paralleled in antique silver, and is on the other hand very modern in appearance. The enlarged reproduction of the figure of one of the Christs (Fig. 10) is instructive in this regard when compared with one of the Boscoreale pieces. The rough pitted surface that one finds here is not the effect that age, use, or abrasion produces in antique silver, but it is exactly the effect of the sketchy, impressionistic modelling that has come into modern sculpture ateliers since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The head of this figure has been hastily called a portrait; how much of a portrait it is may be seen by comparing it with a real portrait of the period to which those observers who see in it a speaking likeness of Our Lord would assign it. It is simply the blocked-out head of a roughly conceived figure, repeated with even less characterization on the other side of the vase.

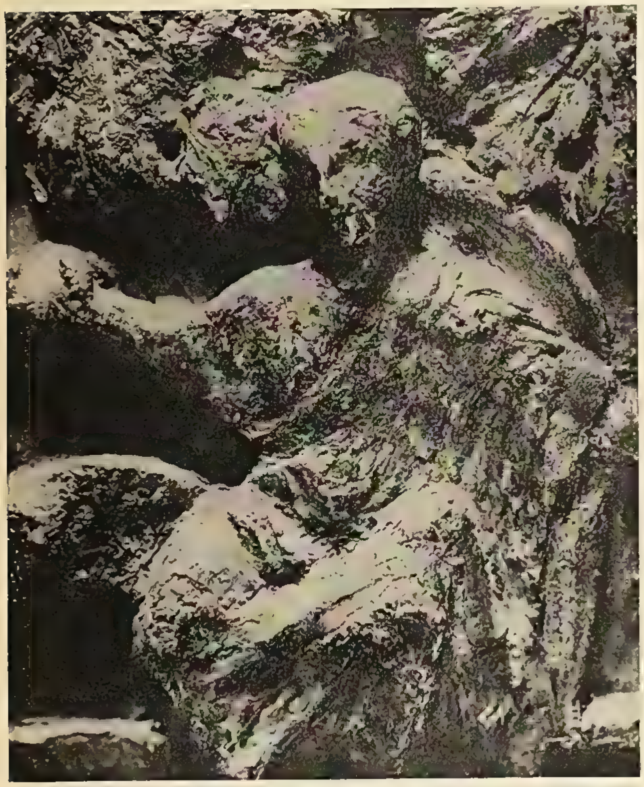
As a student for many years of early Christian iconography, I was impressed, in considering the subjects portrayed on this remarkable monument, by the extreme banality of the motifs on the one hand, and their strange combination on the other. There is nothing on the chalice which could not have been invented by a person with the most superficial acquaintance with the commonly known works on early Christian art. Christ seated amid His apostles is a very ordinary conception, though the repeating of the Christ-figure seems to be a slip. The lamb beside the seated Christ is a very odd piece of iconography, because we do not find the Shepherd concept of Christ mingled with His function as a Teacher, or His glory as a Christ enthroned in Majesty. But we may cite at least as parallels the majestic Good Shepherd of the Tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, and the Christ giving the Law to Peter on a sarcophagus at Arles, where sheep appear beside the Savior. The eagle-and-basket combination below the seated Christ looks like a hopeless solecism to one versed in early iconography. Either one of these symbols may be found on pagan stelae in Syria with the connotation of immortality, and the eagle of course has the same meaning in antique apotheoses. The basket



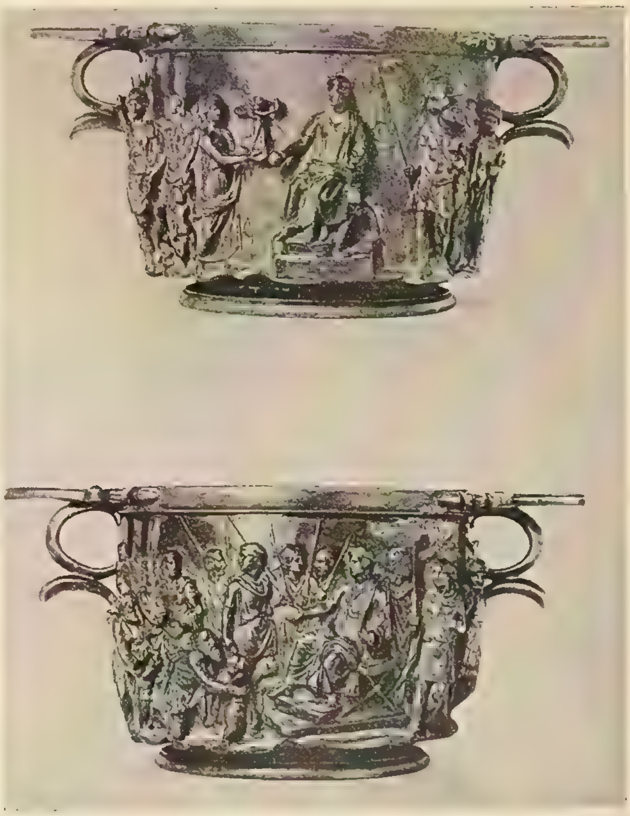
11. Cathedra of Maximianus, Ravenna: Detail



12. Antioch Chalice: Detail Hare (from Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch*)



10. Antioch Chalice: One of the Figures of Christ (from Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch*)



13. Augustus Cup; Rothschild Collection, Paris (from *Monuments Piot*, 1897)

of bread has a eucharistic symbolism in the frescoes of the catacombs. But the two together have no meaning that is familiar to the student of early Christian types; the complex rather has the appearance of a happy thought on the part of a semi-instructed compiler of motifs.

All this does not prove a forgery, but it makes one pause and consider whether the outer envelope might not be a modern fabrication. The grapevine design is very reminiscent of the one on the well-known Cathedra of Maximianus at Ravenna (Fig. 11), and the djerboas of the latter might have suggested the rabbit of the chalice (Fig. 12). The postures and make-up of the apostolic figures remind one of another oft-published monument, the ivory pyxis in Berlin. This also has a figure of Christ that might suggest that of the chalice. But the closest resemblance to a well-known and easily available model was pointed out by Dr. Eisen himself in his first publication of the chalice, in the comparison he made therein to the Augustus-cup in the Rothschild collection which came from the Boscoreale find (Fig. 13). He says: "The figures of Christ and of the ten apostles show a distinct similarity to the two Augustus figures. This similarity, while not exact, is nevertheless so apparent that we can conclude that these or similar, but contemporary cups, inspired the master who sculptured the chalice ornaments. . . . In fact all the principal details of the two Augustus figures are found repeated with slight variations in the figures of the chalice." Might not a modern silversmith have obtained his figure design from the same source from which he obtained the idea of the shape of his cup — from the silver vases of the Boscoreale treasure? And may not this, rather than any subtle and unparaleled symbolic intent on the part of a putative early Christian artist, account for the curious repetition of the figure of Christ? There are two figures of Augustus, one on each side of the Augustus cup; hence there are two figures of Christ similarly placed on the chalice.

Thus instead of assuming a Holy Grail, and the enshrining thereof in a piece of silver work of the end of the first century, let us assume the antiquity of the inner cup alone — a small cup found in the sixth-century treasure, and dating presumably from the same period. Let us assume that in the interval between the first find and the final assembling of the objects in the possession of Messrs. Kouchakji, a Levantine silversmith, such as the one who put a bogus inscription on the genuinely antique silver vase recorded by Héron de Villefosse, decided to make out of a silver cup of no great value, something which he could sell at great profit. He would have had no trouble in imagining the banalities of the chalice, and could have found his models in widely published books. All this might have happened, and a bath given the chalice to produce the oxide, in the two years which Dr. Eisen states elapsed between the original find and the final assembling of the treasure. Such a theory explains (1) the apparent discrepancy of date between the chalice and the rest of the treasure; (2) the apparent discrepancy between the first-century style and technique and the fourth-century iconography; and (3) the curious pasticcio of elaborate perforated envelope, clumsy rosette band, and crude inner cup, making an ensemble that cannot be paralleled in antiquity.

In view of the fact that the antiquity of the chalice is not archaeologically certain, one must take the above possibility into account. The conclusion of the whole matter is therefore that we may have in the outer envelope of the chalice a genuine but very peculiar work of the fourth century A.D.; if not, we have in it a very clever modern fabrication.

THE FRESCOES OF TAVANT

THE FRESCOES OF TAVANT[1]

By MELVILLE WEBBER

I. History

The priory of Tavant was founded in 987 by Thibault, Count of Tours, who gave the property to the Abbey of Marmoûtier. The church, which is the present parish church, was dedicated to St. Nicholas. In 1020 Burchard, seigneur of l'Ile-Bouchard, confirmed the donation. Toward 1045 the monks began to have trouble with Geffroy Fuel, who disputed their right to Tavant, but finally acknowledged the customary ownership. About 1176, Barthélemy II of Vendôme, Archbishop of Tours, rebuked the seigneurs of l'Ile-Bouchard for the vexations they were inflicting on the priory of Tavant.[2]

The frescoes, which are in the crypt, were mentioned as early as 1862 by Galembert,[3] and seem never to have been covered. Water-color drawings which were made of them by Denuelle are now in the Trocadéro Museum, Paris.

II. Architecture

The church of St. Nicholas consists of a nave five bays long (the side aisles have been destroyed),[4] transepts, a raised choir and an apse. Over the crossing is an Armenian vault. The nave has a barrel vault with transverse ribs; the crypt and side aisles, groin vaults. The exterior of the apse is decorated with engaged round and square piers, the former having sculptured capitals. The round-arched windows are framed with a simple moulding.

The crypt, in which the paintings are found, is a three-aisled construction. There is a double row of columns, with capitals sculptured in foliate patterns. Responds with similar capitals are engaged in the walls.

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[1] Galembert, *Mémoire sur les fresques de la Touraine.* (*Congrès archéologique de France.* Paris-Caen, 1862, p. 162.)

Moussé, *Le culte de Notre Dame en Touraine.* Tours, 1912.

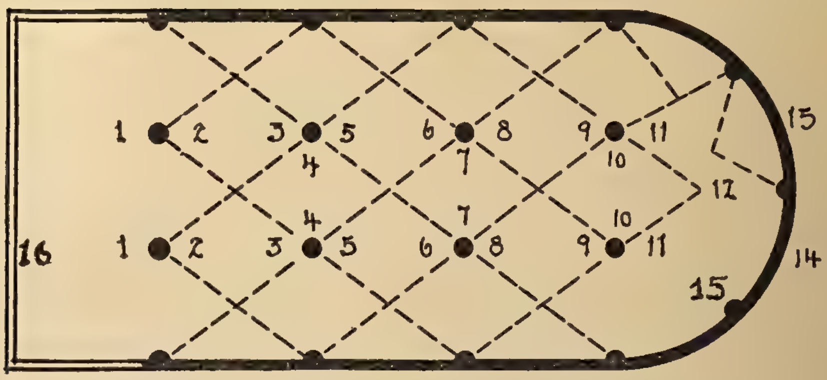
Poncé, *Recueil de documents destinés à faciliter la rédaction d'une géographie écclesiastique et politique de l'ancienne province de Touraine, depuis le quatrième siècle jusqu'à la fin du treizième.* (*Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de la Touraine,* 1856. Tours-Paris, 1857, vol. IX, p. 326.) Basile, *l'Eglise de Tavant.* Chinon, 1909.

Tavant is a *commune* of the canton of l'Ile-Bouchard, in the *arrondissement* of Chinon (Indre-et-Loire). It is situated 24 kilometres from Chinon and 44 from Tours.

[2] Poncé, *op. cit.*

[3] Galembert, *op. cit.*

[4] One absidiole has been destroyed and the other, isolated from the church, belongs to an adjoining farm. In this absidiole were some remains of frescoes under the plaster. See Basile, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 14.



I. Plan of Crypt, Tavant, Showing Location of Frescoes

III. Iconography

The frescoes of Tavant are in the crypt. They decorate the groin vaults of the central aisle, and two are placed on the east wall. Altogether, there are twenty-three scenes (Fig. I). These frescoes are extraordinarily imaginative.

On the vaults just above the first two columns are two standing female figures (Fig. I, no. 1) with yellow nimbi, who hold in their hands a conventionalized, foliate ornament.

Following them is a group of four figures (Fig. I, nos. 2 and 3). Above the first south column is a man clad in long robes and seated on a cushioned throne (Fig. II). Opposite him is another figure, crowned, who wears a short white tunic and red hose, touched with green and dark, bluish gray. He is seated on a simple cross-legged chair and plays a harp (Fig. III). It seems probable that this is David. The suspicion arises that the figure opposite, seated on a throne, may be Saul, although it is singular that he wears no crown. The group would then represent David playing before Saul.

On the corresponding north part of the vault is a man dressed in a short red tunic and yellow hose. He carries a gray shield, and a sword with which he slays a lion, also painted gray (Fig. IV). Facing this scene, stands a man who points with his left hand upraised toward the following panel (Fig. V).

The man slaying the lion perhaps represents Samson rather than David or Banaias, although it is unusual that he should carry sword and shield. There is, however, so much that is out of the ordinary in the iconography at Tavant, that we need not be disquieted by a free treatment. Possibly the scene with the lion and David may be here represented in allusion to the verse of the Apocalypse which refers to Christ as the Lion of the tribe of Judah and the Root of David.[1] The man with upraised hand directs our

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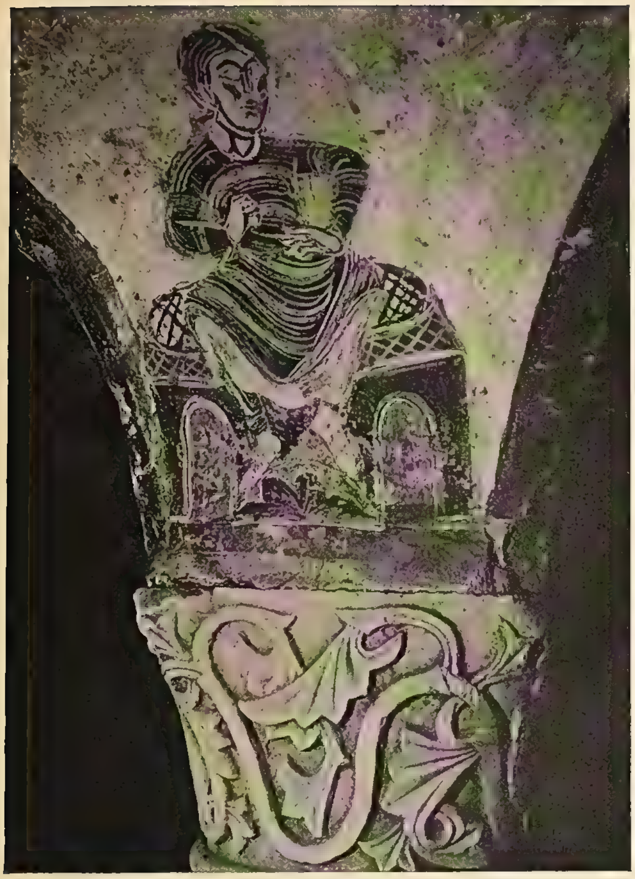
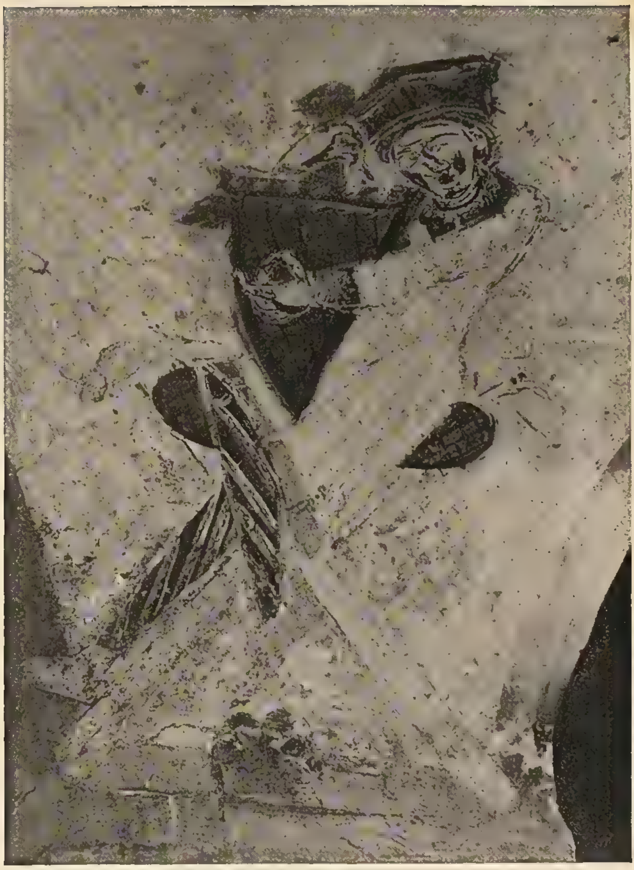
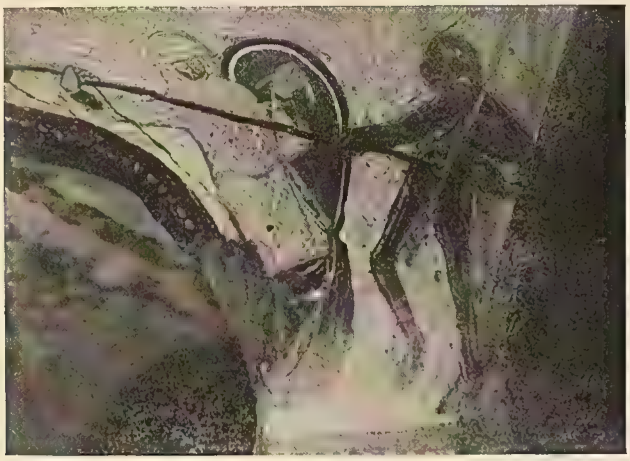
[1] Rev. V, 5.



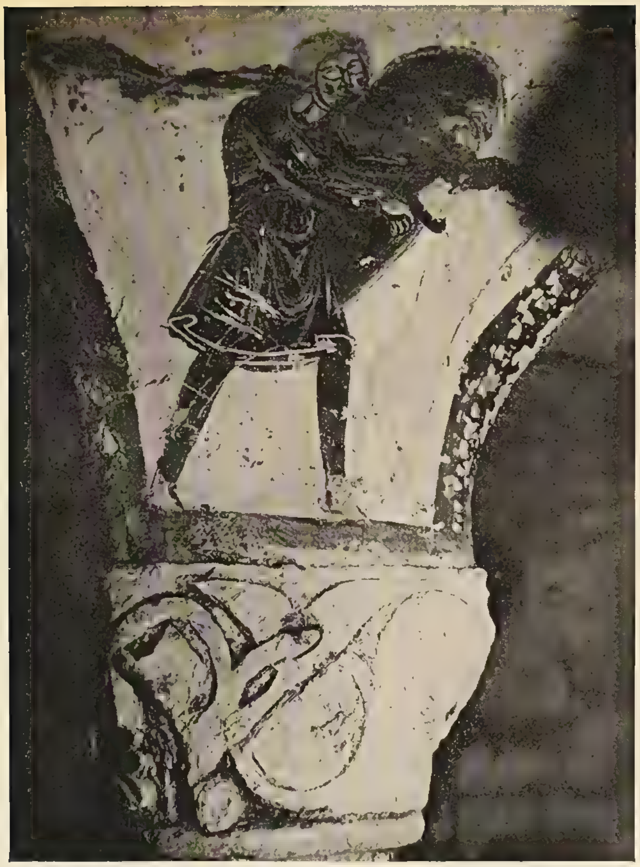
II. Man Seated on Throne (Saul?)



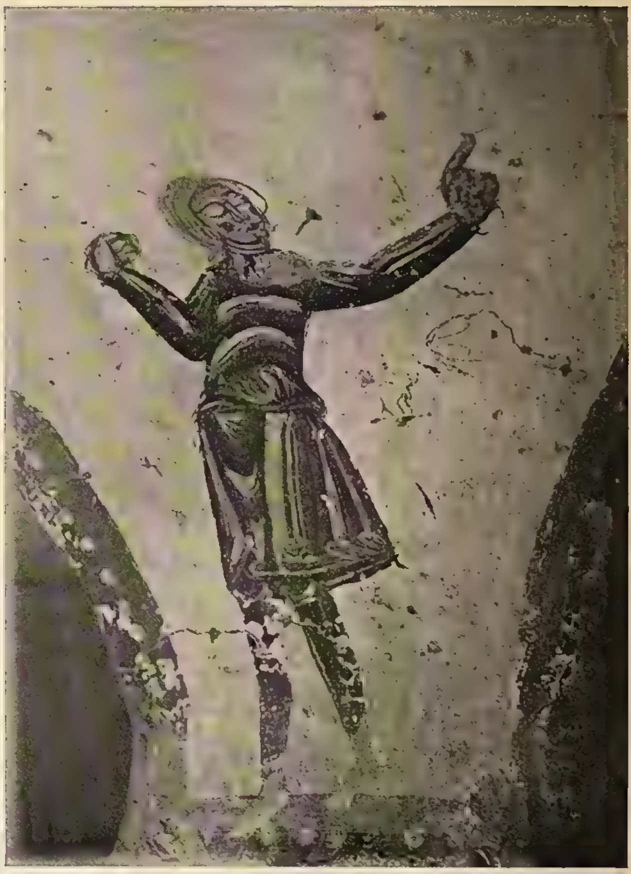
III. Harpist (David?)



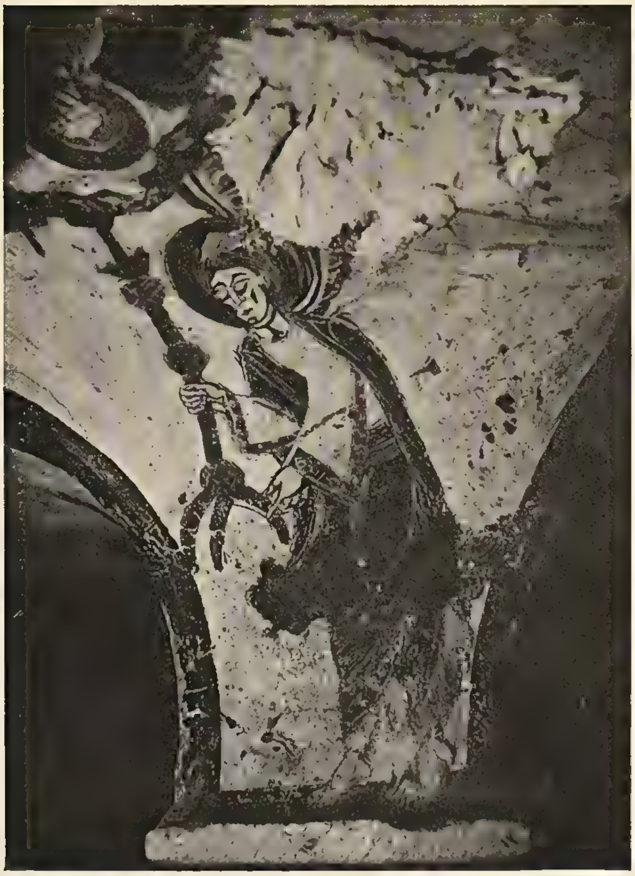
X. Psychomachia



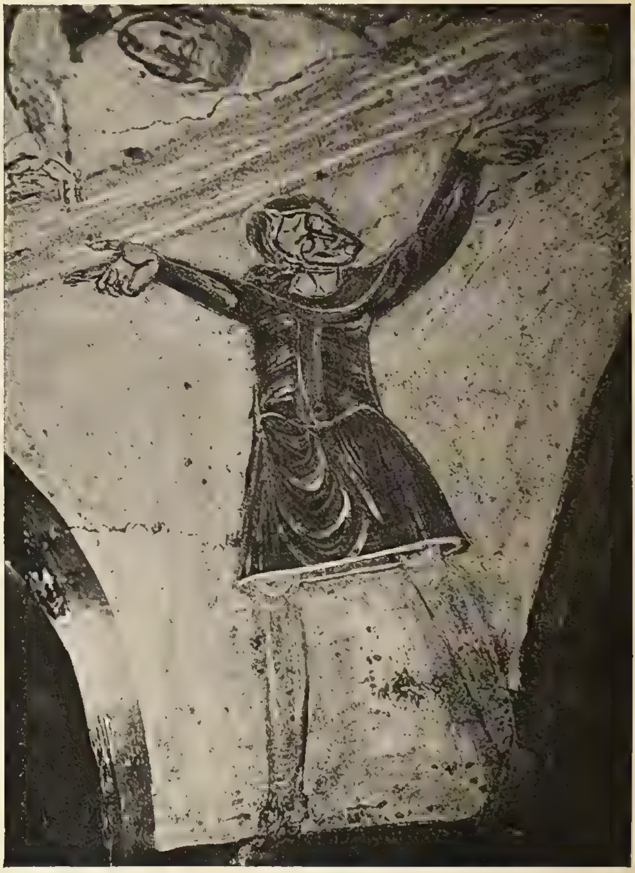
IV. Man Slaying Lion (Samson?)



V. Figure with Raised Hand



VI. Angels with Candlesticks



VII. Supporting Figure

attention to the next scene (Fig. I, no. 4), which represents two angels, each carrying a candlestick (Fig. VI), in all probability an Apocalyptic subject.[1]

The two angels are dressed in long robes of white, over which are draped red mantles. They have yellow nimbi. They stand confronting each other, above the second pair of columns, and separate the first group from that which follows.

On the south part of the vault are two supporting figures (Figs. VII and VIII), who, standing opposite each other, bear what appears to be a beam (Fig. I, nos. 5 and 6). On the north side are: first (Fig. IX), a man carrying a standard, who follows another man who holds in his left hand three branches and in his right a single twig; secondly, a figure in armor (Fig. X) thrusting a spear into a naked figure whose own spear is broken (Fig. I, nos. 5 and 6).

The supporting figures are difficult to explain unless they are a reference to the verse: "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein." [2]

We are introduced to a new theme in the combat of a Virtue and a Vice, that of the Psychomachia (Fig. X). Illustrations of the poem of Prudentius are well known in mediaeval art.[3] In monumental art, the Vice is usually represented prostrate beneath the feet of the conquering Virtue. Here, however, exceptionally, the Vice is standing and the struggle, although nearing completion, is still going on. This manner of portraying the Psychomachia we find in manuscripts, which are generally freer and more varied in their treatment of subject matter. In an eleventh-century manuscript of Brussels[4] the Vice is standing, and holding his spear forced down, while the Virtue stabs him. Other similar representations are illustrated by Stettiner.[5]

The scene which faces the Psychomachia I am unable to explain.

The prelude formed by the scenes we have described is ended, and the drama begins. On the vault above the third pair of columns (Fig. I, no. 7), still with an undertone of strife and ascetic emotion, is depicted the Fall of Adam and Eve. On one side is the Tree and Serpent, on the other, the guilty pair.

The next group represents, on the south side, a man tilling the ground, and, standing beside him, a woman (Fig. I, no. 8, and Fig. XI). The subject is, I suppose, the Labour of Adam and Eve. Opposite is a woman who stands alone (Fig. I, no. 9, and Fig. XII). On the north is another woman, thrusting a spear through her breasts, at which cling two serpents (Fig. I, no. 8, and Fig. XIII); and a monster drawing a bow (Fig. I, no. 9, and Fig. XIV).

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[1] Rev. XI, 4.

[2] Rev. XI, 1.

[3] They occur in other Romanesque frescoes at Montoire, Meobecq, Brioude, and in the destroyed frescoes of St.-Desiré.

[4] Bibl. Roy., MSS 9968–72.

[5] Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius Handschriften.* Berlin, 1905.

The attributes of the woman (Fig. XIII) are those of Luxury and Despair. The two vices were often associated; we find them, for instance, side by side on a capital at Vézelay.[1] Perhaps here the attributes of the two vices are confused in a single person. It should be remarked that the woman with serpents at her breasts appears to be derived from Byzantine Last Judgments, since it is found in that of the church at Peristrema,[2] in Asia Minor. The oldest example of the motive in France seems to be that on the portal of Moissac (*c.* 1115). Although there is no Last Judgment at Tavant, the subject is equally appropriate here because of the idea of spiritual conflict of Good and Evil and the final overthrow of the latter in the Harrowing of Hell. The representation of the Vice is also naturally associated with the Fall of Adam and Eve.

Opposite, and on the north side, is a centaur-like monster. Basile reads an inscription SAGITTARIVS beside this figure. It must therefore be that we have here a sign of the Zodiac, not, as we might otherwise be tempted to suppose, one of the locusts of the Apocalypse.[3]

In the scene on the south side (Fig. XI), representing a man tilling the ground, we need not hesitate to recognize Adam and an allusion to the punishment of man, caused by his fall. Similarly in an eleventh-century ivory, formerly part of the altar-frontal of the cathedral of Salerno,[4] we have the scene of Adam tilling the ground after the Fall.

The two women who stand beside and opposite Adam seem to be in apposition. One (Fig. XI) is haggard, forward in gesture, without a veil, wearing an elaborate head-dress and holding a distaff. The other (Fig. XII) has a comparatively gentle face, her hands raised in the attitude of prayer, her head is simply covered with a long veil and is nimbed. She stands apart. The former is, perhaps Eve,[5] and the latter, the new Eve, the Virgin.

Between the last pair of columns (Fig. I, no. 10) are two scenes from the life of Christ — the Harrowing of Hell (Fig. XVI) and the Deposition (Fig. XV). The latter is depicted on a background of yellow, green, and white parallel bands, above which is a cloud-like form, that reminds us of medallions in the frescoes of St.-Aignan and Le Liget.

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[1] Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII*^{e} *siècle en France*, p. 375.

[2] Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*. Leipzig, 1908.

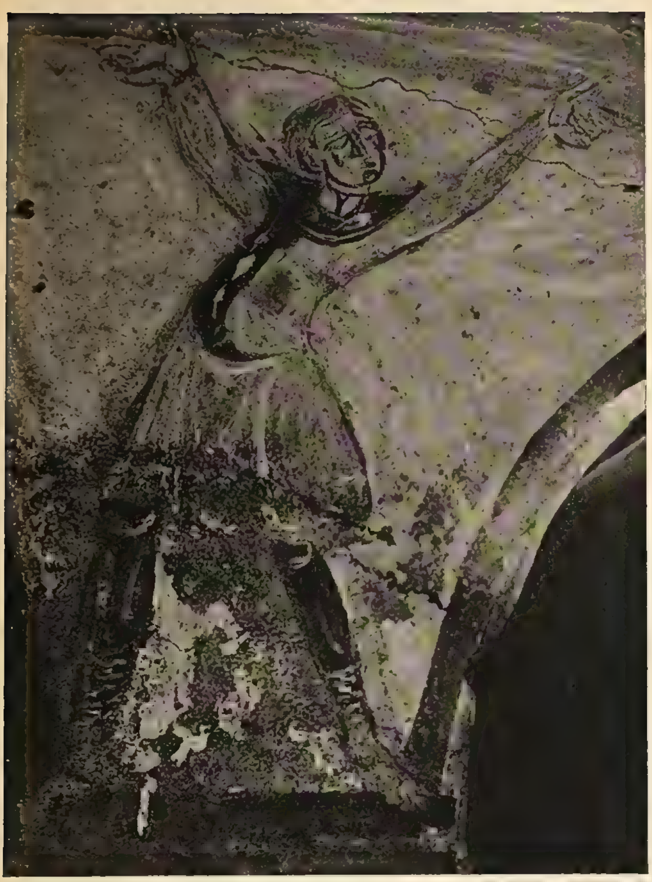
[3] Rev. IX, 7–10.

The representations of the Apocalyptic monsters present much variation among themselves. Cf. those of the Bible of Avila, the *Beatus* of Madrid and the *Beatus* of St.-Sever.

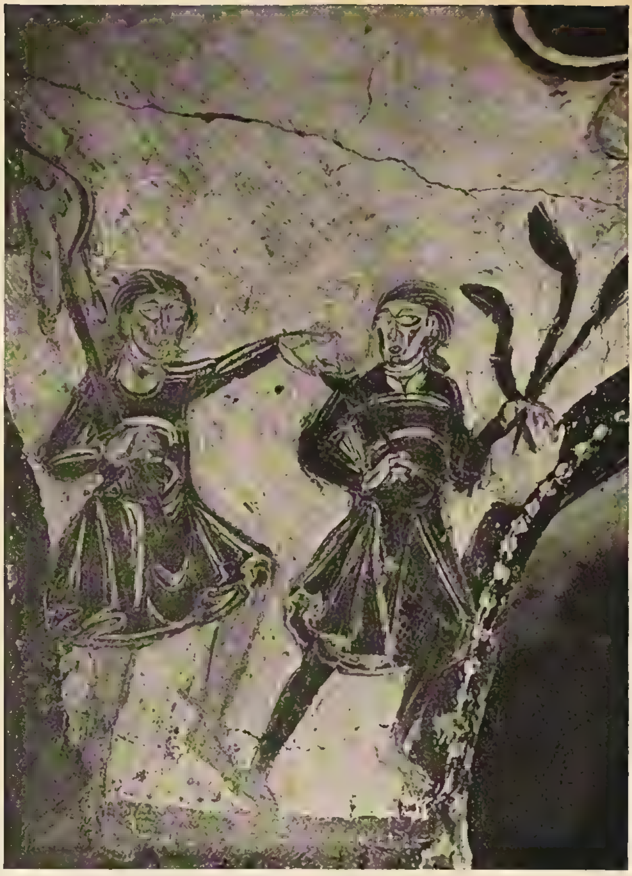
At St.-Gilles, on the socle of the south central portal, is a centaur whose girdle resembles that at Tavant.

[4] Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), p. 432.

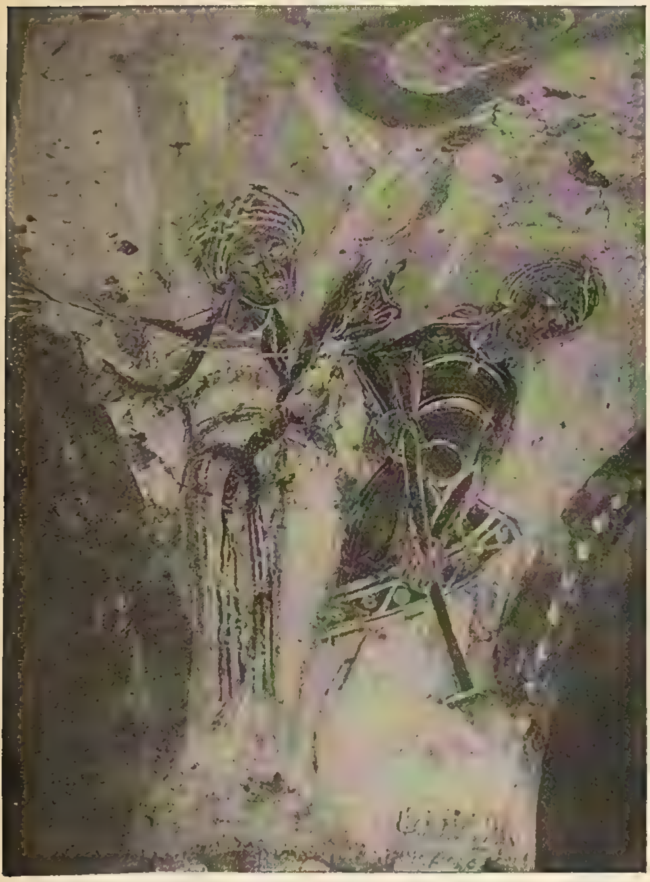
[5] Compare with the figure of Eve at St.-Savin. There appear to be at least three ways of representing Eve in the scene of the Labour: (1) Eve with the distaff; (2) Eve with a child (Bible of Charles the Bald); and (3) Eve reaping (Bible of Ripoll).



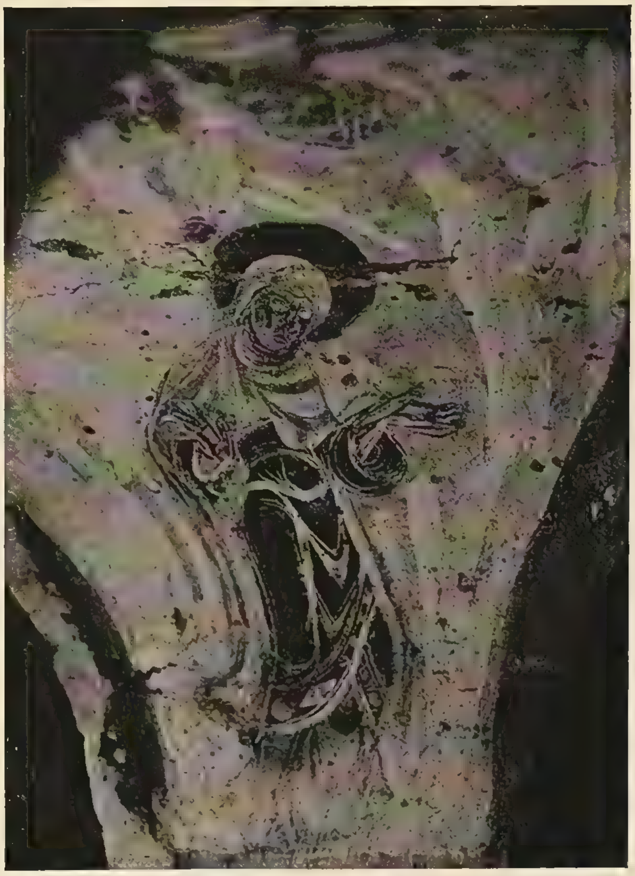
VIII. Supporting Figure



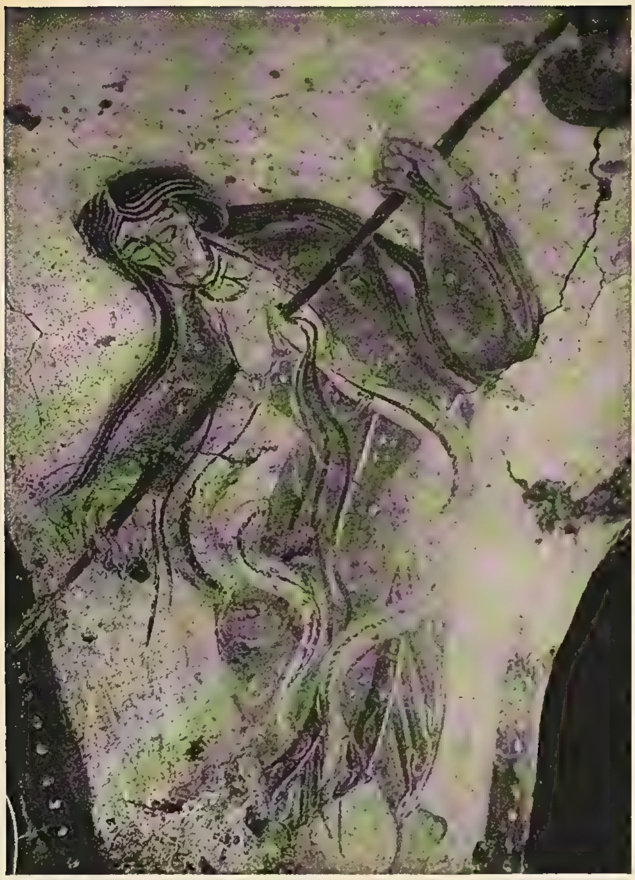
IX. Standard Bearer



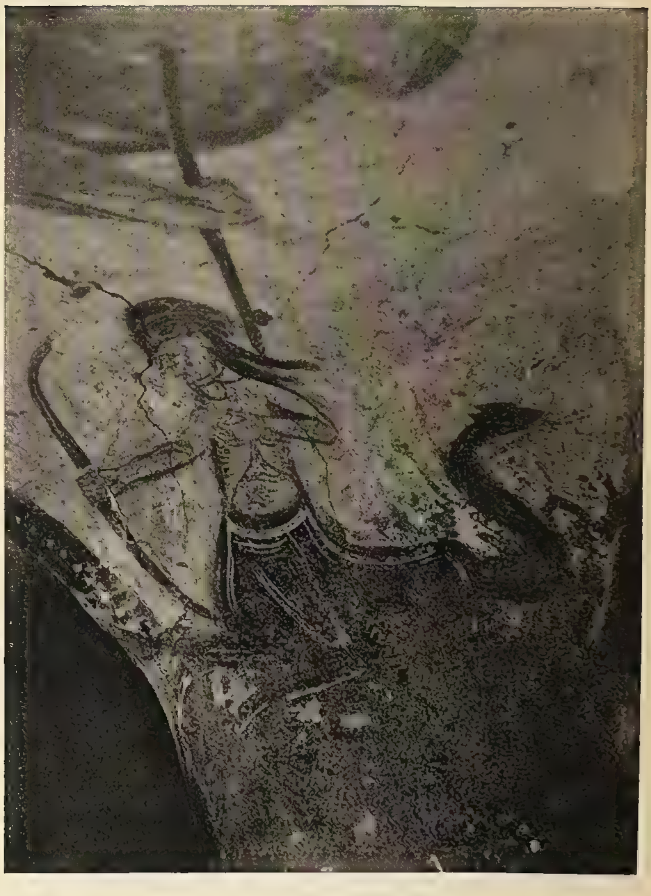
XI. Labor of Adam and Eve



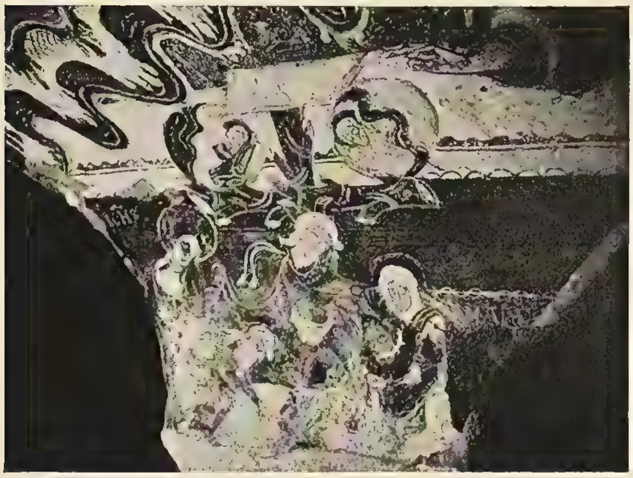
XII. The Virgin (?)



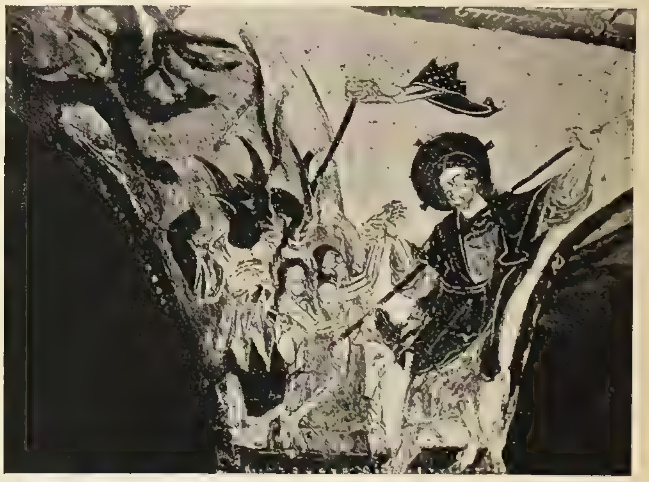
XIII. Woman with Spear and Serpents (Luxury)



XIV. Monster Drawing Bow



XV. Deposition



XVI. Harrowing of Hell

The composition is of the type we find at Toquale,[1] a Byzantine fresco of the tenth century. In this type both arms of the Christ are unfastened, the body falls back, and Nicodemus is seen taking the nails out of the feet. On one side stands John, on the other Mary. Their names are written beside them: IŌHS, MARI[A]. Joseph of Arimathea supports the body of Christ, while Mary holds His head. Beside the cross are two medallions containing heads of a man and a woman. Each has a nimbus and is represented emerging from the clouds. They are the Sun and the Moon. Above is a hand that blesses in the Latin manner.

The cross is made of rough-hewn trees, differing from the usual ornamental form. This detail and the position occupied by Joseph will call for further notice when we consider the dating of the frescoes.

The Harrowing of Hell follows a traditional type. Strzygowski has suggested that the subject was probably affected by an Egyptian pre-Christian legend.[2] There are, however, details that are not found in the Byzantine iconography of the subject and some that seem peculiar to Tavant. Adam appears to be enveloped in an aureole. It is difficult to say here as in a ninth-century fresco of the same subject in the subterranean church of S. Clemente, Rome, whether an aureole or the entrance of Hell is intended. The representation of Adam and Eve nude does not occur in the Byzantine *Anastasis.* In the West, we find it at Sant' Angelo in Formis, near Capua; in a miniature of St.-Martial at Limoges,[3] and in the Bible of Avila. In the last two examples, the Christ actually spears the Devil, instead of bearing the standard triumphantly across his prostrate body. The Devil is represented standing and dressed in a tunic reminding us of that worn by the Devil of the Moissac portal. He is horned and his hands seem to be grasping something. Above him, on a yellow band, are red, sinuous lines, which probably represent flames, although their form suggests serpents.

A detail that is quite unusual — I do not know of its occurrence elsewhere — is a hand, emerging from a cloud, that thrusts a spear into the Devil.

These two panels, the Deposition and the Harrowing of Hell, occupy a position similar to the Fall of Adam and Eve, which they balance in idea and placing.

The decoration of the vaults closes with the vision of Christ in Glory (Fig. I, no. 12), surrounded by angels and warriors (Fig. I, no. 11). The Christ is enclosed in a green, almond-shaped aureole, against which His red robes form a complementary balance. He has a gray, cruciform nimbus and blesses in the Latin manner.

[1] Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[2] Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 662.

[3] Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

In the vault spaces on either side are an angel and a warrior.[1] Again a hand appears in a cloud, in front of an ornamental cross of green, bordered with yellow.

Finally,[2] on the east wall, and south of the Christ, was a figure, now effaced beyond recognition. In a similar position north of the Christ, kneels a monk who is being blessed by a hand in a cloud (Fig. I, nos. 13 and 14).

The reiterated representation of the supernatural hand is remarkable.

Equally noteworthy is the unity of the iconographic idea. The decoration is dominated by a theme of strife, and is essentially a Psychomachia, although extending its symbolism beyond the limits of the poem of Prudentius. Commencing with references to the Majesty of Christ, the idea of spiritual struggle is soon introduced. Immediately follows the Fall of Mankind and repetitions of specific punishment and death, reaching its climax in the redemption through the death of Christ and the delivery of those in Limbo by Him. In a brilliant coda, the opening theme is repeated in the Christ in Glory surrounded by warriors and angels.

IV. STYLE

THE frescoes of Tavant are unique among French Romanesque wall-paintings for their bravura. Directness and spontaneity of handling are characteristic of mediaeval art, but here they become a dominant element, which results in an impressionism of forceful movement. The delicacy of patterned detail is slurred over. While the painting is essentially based on the use of conventional motives, the decorative effect usually sought by such means is scarcely attained. The customary red dots on the cheeks are elongated into irregular slashes; the strokes forming the features are abbreviated into an intensified expression; the lines representing folds and delineating the body emphasize, by the rapidity with which they are drawn and their brusque contrasts, both direction and movement in a way quite different from the work of St.-Savin and St.-Loup-de-Naud. The actual brush-work at Tavant is far more evident, and in it lies much of the interest of the frescoes.

The tonality of the frescoes is based on a palette of yellow ochre, red ochre, a green earth, lime white, and black. Blue, almost invariably used in French twelfth-century frescoes, is not found here. Since it was a very precious color, its omission is presumably due to the minor importance of the crypt. In the crypt frescoes of St.-Ours at Loches there is also no blue. The backgrounds are generally white, parallel bands occurring only in the Deposition. Borders of red and yellow bands, joined by white dots, partially frame the scenes. The use of this motive is spread all over France, and is especially developed in Touraine and the valley of the Loire. Against the white ground the figures are red, yellow, green, and white.

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[1] A figure prostrate beneath the feet of the warrior used to be visible. The warrior was therefore probably a Virtue overcoming a Vice. See Basile, *op cit.*, p. 10.

[2] There existed formerly a Crucifixion of St. Peter (Fig. I, no. 13) and a large figure with a staff and palm, a purse at his side and a sort of mitre on his head (Fig. I, no. 14). See Basile, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

In the drapery the characteristic detail is the use of widely spaced groups of curved parallel lines on the torso, of vertical folds following the line of each leg, with a centre panel of horizontal folds, either curved or pointed. The lines of the folds are well defined, are not slurred at the ends, and usually are carried to the outline of the figure. This type we meet with in the sculpture of the West,[1] in miniatures, such as the eleventh-century Life of Ste. Radegonde at Poitiers, and in the frescoes of Poitou and north to the valley of the Loire.

The knees are marked by a sort of circle and the lower parts of the stockings are wattled.

In the figure of Saul we have a variant of the normal drapery. His robe is drawn with many fine, curving and parallel lines, placed closely together. The same kind of drapery we find in the figure of Herod on a capital of St.-Etienne, now in the Museum of Toulouse,[2] a work of about the mid-twelfth century. Another interesting point of similarity between them is the footstool, which is, in each case, circular and decorated with a foliate motive. The attitudes of the two figures, likewise, resemble each other.

But the most striking characteristic is the drawing of the faces. The eyes are placed close together and somewhat high. Over the nose and on the chin are often circles. The cheeks are colored with red spots. The necks are drawn with two vertical curves joining a horizontal curve above. These are all details that go to make up the type of such figures as the Christ of the east apse at Montoire and the Virgin of Vendôme. The detail of the neck we find expressed with more naturalism in Byzantine work, as for instance, the mosaics of Daphni (eleventh century) and those of St. Mark's. More conventionalized, the same mannerism occurs in Lombard work, as in the fragment of a fresco from Galliano, near Como, now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, representing Ariberto da Intimiano.[3] Again at St.-Savin, especially in the paintings of the crypt, the type is found. It is one of two methods used to indicate the structure of the neck, the other being merely horizontal, parallel curves. In French frescoes it is almost entirely limited to the west of France, and seems to go out during the second half of the twelfth century. We find the second type, however, in the scene of Adam and Eve with the Serpent, a unique instance in these frescoes.

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[1] E. g., St.-Ours of Loches.

[2] Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1905), vol. I, pt. 2, p. 625.

[3] Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1923), vol. I, p. 174.

The hand in the scene of Christ in Glory is crossed with several straight lines, similar to the hand of the Christ of the south apse at Montoire. Hands similarly drawn are also found in the earlier windows of the cathedral of Poitiers.

Beside these details, the general ruggedness and simplicity of the paintings seem very like the work of the West. It is to this school that I should attribute the frescoes of Tavant.

V. Date

The architecture of the church of St. Nicholas may be ascribed on stylistic grounds to the end of the eleventh century, a date that holds equally for the sculpture. It is improbable that the frescoes of the crypt were contemporary, or nearly so, with the construction. The crypt was generally the last part of a church to be decorated. At St.-Savin the crypt paintings are later than those in other parts of the church (the Madonna over the west door being isolated and not forming a part of the decorative scheme). At Chartres they are later than the architecture. The same is true of St.-Ours of Loches. It is probable that at Tavant, also, there elapsed a certain amount of time between the building and the painting of the crypt.

There are also iconographic details which throw light on the date. In the Deposition the cross is made of two roughly hewn tree-trunks instead of being of the ornamental type. A similar cross is found in the Crucifixion on the ambo of the cathedral of Parma, executed in 1178.[1] It is also found in the tympanum of the church at Champagne (Ardèche).[2] The Christ wears a crown of thorns very unusual in early mediaeval art. The crown does not seem to be a later addition and, were this the case, it would be the only instance in these paintings of detail added subsequently. Although the type of the Deposition at Tavant is found at an early date at Toquale, the excessive curve of the body, the Virgin holding the Christ's head, and, especially, the central position occupied by Joseph, seem late. In the twelfth-century Depositions the body of Christ occupies the centre, and it is only at the beginning of the thirteenth century that we find Joseph replacing Him, as in the panel of a Crucifix in the Gallery at Pisa; in the Deposition of Berlinghieri, in the Jarvis collection at Yale; and in the fresco by the Master of St. Francis at Assisi.[3]

These details bring us down to the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. The panel in which they occur cannot be considered apart from the other frescoes. The manner of execution is identical. A date affecting one applies equally to the rest.

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[1] Michel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 701.

[2] Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

[3] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 291, 323, 393.

Some doubt, however, whether the frescoes can really date from so late arises from a study of the armor of the Virtue (Fig. X). The shield is rounded at the top and pointed at the bottom. The helmet likewise has a round top, and ends in a horizontal line across the forehead. The coat of mail covers the cheeks and chin and the arms below the elbows. It falls to the knees, and is slit up the sides almost to the waist, where a narrow girdle confines it. Generally, we find the round type of shield in the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries, although examples of it occur in the frieze of the ambo in the cathedral at Parma (1178) and in a manuscript of the thirteenth century.[1] The pear-shaped type, with rounded top and pointed bottom, is most usual in the first half of the twelfth century.[2] It gives place after 1150 to a convex type, with a straight top which is rounded at the corners and pointed at the bottom. This is succeeded by a triangular type with a straight top. The first and the last are found in a fresco at Montoire. The triangular type occurs in the Porta Romana sculptures in the Museo Sforzesco at Milan, and in a manuscript of the twelfth century,[3] and at St.-Pompain, while at the same time we have the second type in another example at St.-Aubin of Angers and at Blazimont. It would seem, then, that we have all three types of shield roughly contemporary, and at Montoire and Angers even in the same monument. The triangular shield is prevalent in the thirteenth century.

The lines of demarcation between what is, in a general way, a succession of types, are not sharply drawn. How long, then, did the second type, which is that of Tavant, last beyond 1150? The examples we know take us into the thirteenth century. The type is to be found in the Great Seal of Henry II,[4] in a manuscript of about 1170,[5] in the seals of Raoul de Fougères,[6] Richard Coeur de Lion,[6] Arthur, Duke of Brittany, and Philip, Count of Namur, all of the second half of the twelfth or of the thirteenth century.

The dress and helmet of Tavant continue to 1200. After that we have the tunic placed outside the armor, and the helmet usually of chain mail. The manner of representing the armor by cross-hatching appears to have been of frequent usage.[7]

Although the dress and shield are here of a type prevalent in the first half of the twelfth century, the mingling of all these styles in the second half, and the long persistence of the Tavant type, together with the association of the shield with a dress type certainly lasting until 1200, makes it possible, I think, that the frescoes were executed in the second half of the twelfth century.

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[1] Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Lat. 15158.*

[2] It occurs at Civray, Parthenay, St.-Aubin of Angers, Corme, St.-Symphorien, Pont-l'Abbé-d'Arnoult, Fenioux, Aulnay, Notre-Dame-du Port, Fontaines-d'Ozillac and in Cotton MSS Titus XXVI (Lo^3) in the Brit. Mus. (ill. in Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Tafel 193–194).

[3] Brussels, Bibl. Roy., *Codex 9916–7.*

[4] Hewitt, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe.* Oxford, 1860.

[5] Ashdown, *Arms and Armour.* New York.

[6] These are illustrated in Demay, *Le costume d'après les sceaux* (Paris, 1910), pp. 141, 114, 115, 159, respectively.

[7] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

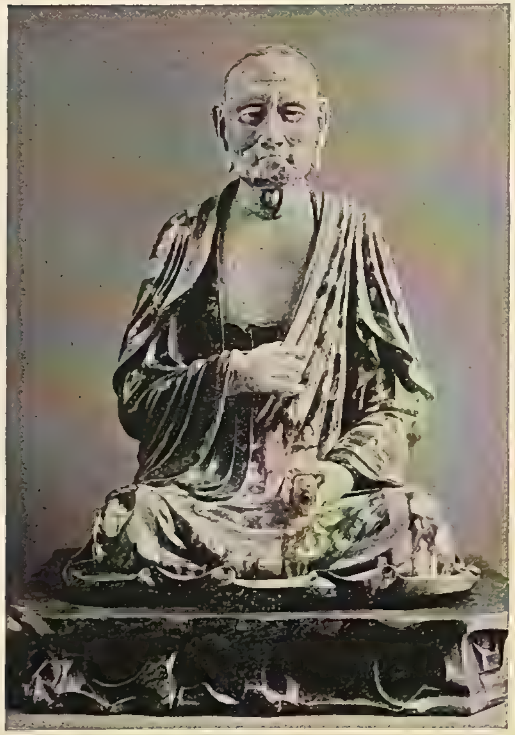
We must rely on details of style further to limit the period of their execution.

The detail of the drapery and of the faces is, as we have seen, the same as that of other works in the West and in Touraine. In general, it is of an early type, and might be considered to be of the early twelfth century. But, if we look at the details more closely, we are struck by the mechanical and inaccurate way in which they are expressed. For instance, the neck convention is applied with very little regard to its significance; this is especially noticeable in the figure of the monster drawing a bow (Fig. XIV). Likewise, the round cheek spots have lost their element of design and much of their meaning, in the exaggerated, irregular splashes, which only rarely give an effect of greater realism. The convention of the eyes and nose, essentially the same as those of Montoire, are similarly perfunctory. The details are crude. This crudeness is not that of an early art. Its mechanical character, its lack of significance as design or representation, betrays an inaccurate copying of well-established models. It is *retardataire*, and may well be later than such highly stylized examples as the window of the Virgin at Vendôme (*c.* 1150).

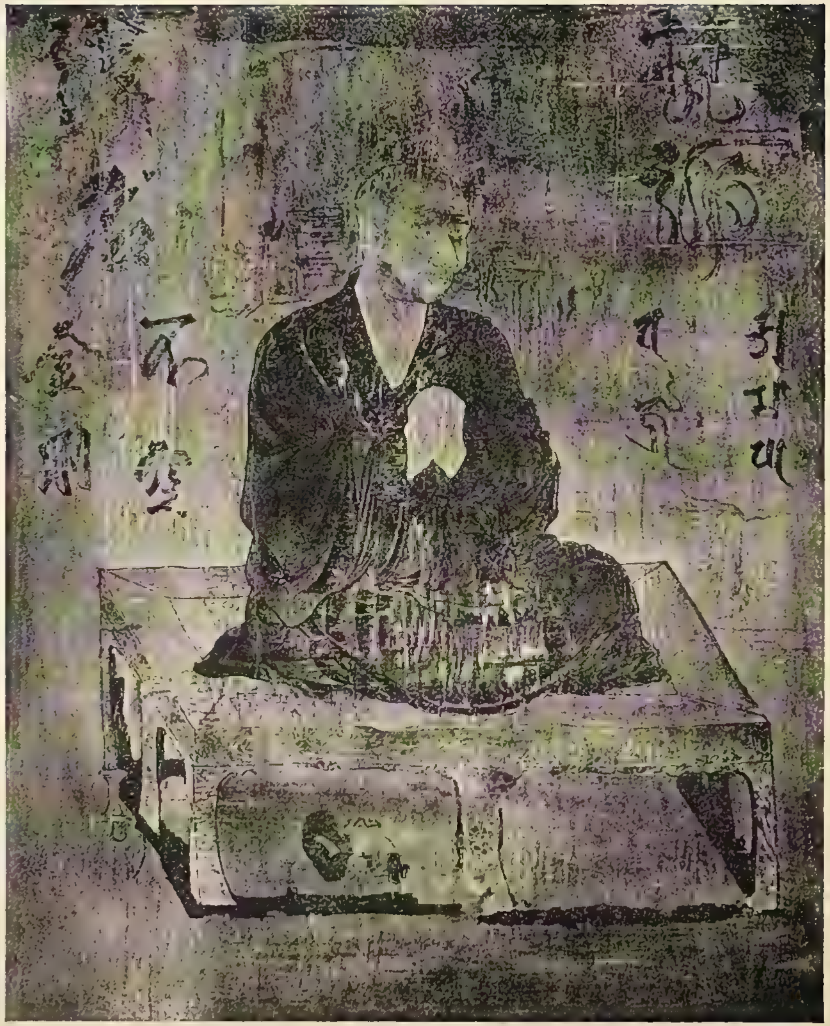
Although most of the drapery is early in type, the robe of Saul resembles that of Herod, in the capital of Toulouse (*c.* 1150). This is another indication of late date.

In view of all these considerations, I venture to assign the frescoes to the last half of the twelfth century.

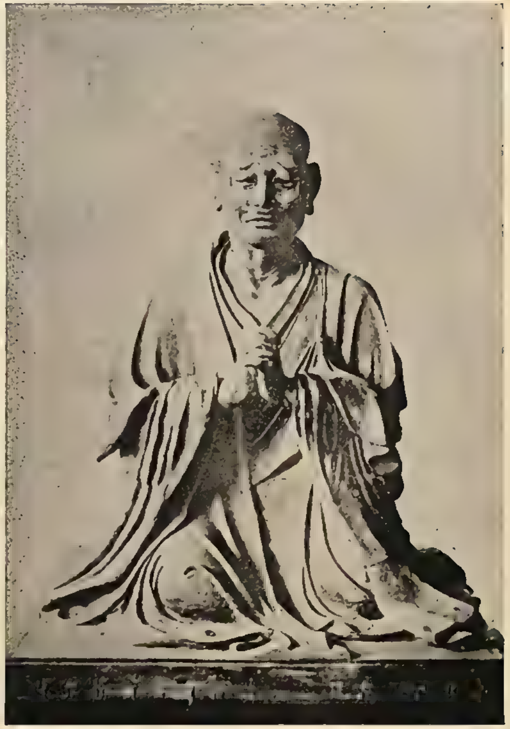
ARHATS IN ART



1. Arhat. Terracotta Statue.
Metropolitan Museum, New York



2. Amogha-vajra, Patriarch of Shingon Sect.
Ascribed to Li Chēn. Tōji, Kyōto



3. Patriarch of Hossō Sect.
Kōfukuji, Nara

ARHATS IN ART

By FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP

The arhats[1] do not owe their existence to the Hīnayāna, or Lesser Vehicle, although by their aloofness, their peculiar character of divine human beings, they seem to belong to a more primitive form of Buddhism than the Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, who have assimilated so many of the attributes and powers of Brāhman gods. The bodhisattvas are mythological. They were created out of doctrine and metaphysics — dim and sublime projections of theological rationalizings. But the arhats, in their earliest form at least, resemble in a distant way the apostles of the early Christian church. Like them they were the great exponents of the master's revelation, the wise keepers of the Law, the perfect *bhikshus*. Several of them, it would seem, were the intimates or immediate followers of Gautama Buddha, and they form part of the concourse of divine beings before whom the great imaginary discourses of the *Tathâgata* were delivered. The *Sukhâvatî-Vyûha* begins: "Thus have I heard: At one time the Blessed One dwelt at Srâvastî in the Geta-grove, in the garden of Anâthapindaka, together with a large company of *bhikshus*, that is, with twelve hundred *bhikshus*, all of them acquainted with the five kinds of knowledge, elders, great disciples, and arhats such as Sâriputra the elder, Mahâmaudgalyâyana, Mahakâsyapa." And it goes on to enumerate others, including Nanda, Ânanda, Râhula, and Vakkula. The opening words of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarîka* are: "Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Râjagṛiha, on the Gridhrakûta mountain, with a numerous assemblage of monks, twelve hundred monks, all of them arhats, stainless, free from depravity, self-controlled (having subdued others or the world), thoroughly emancipated in thought and knowledge, of noble breed, (like unto) great elephants, having done their task, done their duty, acquitted their charge, reached the goal, in whom the ties which bound them to existence were wholly destroyed, whose minds were thoroughly emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had reached the utmost perfection in subduing all their thoughts; who were possessed of the transcendent faculties."

But the arhats also typify tendencies of Indian religious aspiration far earlier than the historic Buddha, for they not only are examples of the efficacy of the Law and the eight-fold path, but they personify the choice of a solitary and ascetic life — the self-destroying way [1] to personal enlightenment that the Tathâgata tried as the ancient and accepted path to salvation, only to find in it another form of Illusion. For he taught men to seek emancipation, not primarily in self-mortifying practices, but in the middle path of the Law of which his was the true revelation. Concentrated meditation was, of course, in his opinion, a way to supernatural powers. And, although he laid his greatest emphasis on the Saṅgha, or community of the faithful, he did not deny his followers the discipline and purification of an ascetic life.

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[1] Chinese, *lohan;* Japanese, *rakkan.* No attempt has been made at uniformity, or even consistency, in the spelling of Oriental names or words — an undertaking quite beyond my competence. To avoid confusion of reference they are, for the most part, quoted in the form in which they appear in the works referred to. In the case of the names of Chinese artists, I have followed Waley in so far as they are mentioned in his *Index.*

The arhats are, then, in legendary form, certain of those early ascetics who, having renounced the world and being free from body, feeling, perception, potentialities, and thought, and having overcome *tanhâ* or the craving for existence and personal achievement, acquired by solitary meditation on the law of Buddha not only enlightenment, but magical powers like those ascribed to Gautama himself by the legends that grew up around his name. These powers have their source in a benign and intimate sympathy with all living things bound, in their degree, to the chain of causation and, through that sympathy, the arhats achieved unchanging peace beyond rebirth, age, sickness, pain, death, or defilement and, tapping at its spring the principle of a divine knowledge, knew the nature of rapture.

They walk in the fourth or highest path to nirvāṇa, and possess transcendent powers that give them a clear insight into the meaning of a text, and a perfect understanding of the Law and its right exegesis expressed through a faculty for ready exposition and discussion. They have energy, concentration, and magnanimity. Theirs are also the five *abhijñâs*, or supernatural talents or penetrations, which Shaka acquired on the night before he became Buddha, and which they possess because they have reached the fourth degree of *dhyâna* or fixed abstraction — the *dhyâna* of an "absolute indifference" which remains untouched by all the revolutions of the worlds [2] and of which it was said that "when fate comes to an end this *dhyâna* may come to an end too," but not sooner. These talents give them the power to work miracles; to hear all the sounds of the universe (the divine ear)[3]; to see all that happens in the universe (the divine eye); and they can read the thoughts of others [1] and remember their own former existences. They have made their own the understanding that destroys passions. They are endowed with the eight *vidyâs* or exorcising spells of mystic knowledge, and the eight *vidjñânas* or the perfect knowledge of organs, objects, and forms. They have the inner light of the quietude that comes from restraint of the senses, steady perseverance, right application and the abandonment of sinful thoughts.[2] By virtue of their wisdom they cross unmoved the ocean of existence, and from their natures the three causes of moral infection (desire, affection and ignorance) have been washed away. The tiger and the dragon, sensing their spiritual perfection, seek them out and lie down at their feet; [3] the deer of the forest bring them flowers in their mouths. In the clear glass of their contemplation, the terrible, the awesome, the timid, and the weak are one. In many ways they resemble the hermits of immemorial legends who lived in the mountains — calm retreats free from vulgar noise — or the sages of Chinese mythology, who figure so prominently in Taoist pictures and of whom was written: "I hear it said that the sage when he travels is never attacked by rhinoceros or tiger, and when coming among soldiers does not fear their weapons. The rhinoceros could find no place to horn him nor the tiger a place for his claws, nor could soldiers wound him. What is the reason? Because he is invulnerable." [4]

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[1] In the *Vagrakkhedikâ*, or *Diamond Cutter Sūtra* (*Sacred Books*, vol. XLIX, ii, p. 121), there is a passage that defines one aspect of an arhat's mental attitude — his selflessness.

[2] The *dhyânas* have a cosmic as well as a spiritual existence, and each contains from a thousand to ten million *dhyânas* of a lesser order, including moons, suns, planets, continents, *mérus*, and *dêvalôkas* or celestial worlds. The immense extent of these universes in space and time gives a sense of the prodigious spiritual powers possessed by the arhats.

[3] There is in the Freer Gallery (19.163) a silk kakemono ascribed to Chien Yih, but really a Ch'ing production, which protrays an arhat, remotely of the Kōdaiji or Central Asian type (to which reference will be made later), with deep eyes and long nose, and an ear the lobe of which descends into his lap — perhaps a freakish representation of the "divine ear."

They are, in many ways, an expression given by the Buddhists to Pitri (Manes) worship — one of the most ancient forms of Vedic ritual and, therefore, though metamorphosed and endowed with other functions and attributes, they may be thought of as representing, in a distant way, Aryan conceptions of glorified ancestors of whom Yama was king.[5] And they are mentioned in the *Questions of Milinda* as inhabitants of the City of Righteousness.

It was, perhaps, the apparent finality of their spiritual achievements that gave rise to the belief that the arhats represent a primitive and selfish conception of enlightenment — a monkish ideal, introspective, and oblivious to the needs and struggles of less fortunate beings whose karma imprisons them in the trammels of life. In some of the earlier studies of Buddhism they were often used as a foil to the bodhisattvas, whose divine nature was especially manifested in their solicitude for all living things who suffer in the darkness of ignorance and are condemned to long cycles of rebirth. For the bodhisattvas are supposed to renounce nirvāṇa, into which because of their divine intelligence they might at any moment enter, for the sole purpose of saving others by their compassion and wisdom, being a characteristic expression of the Mahāyāna, or Greater Vehicle, which promises salvation to all, while the Hīnayāna was thought to reserve the blessings of Buddha's teaching for the enlightened few — an idea which is perhaps a far-off reflection of Mahāyānist propaganda,[1] for we know that at an early date [2] the arhats were especially venerated by the Chinese, and later by the Japanese, among whom, broadly speaking, the Mahāyāna was the accepted Vehicle. In the primitive church there must have been little or no distinction made between arhat and bodhisattva.[3]

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[1] *Sacred Books*, vol. XLIX, ii, p. 89. These magic faculties they share with the Indian *rishi* and the Taoist *hsien* whose power to understand the past, present, and future, to dematerialize their bodies, to transport themselves through space, and to attain immortality, is also, in its general aspects, theirs. Chung-li K'uan, one of the eight Taoist Immortals, crosses the sea, in the manner of the arhats, standing on the magic sword of the Green Dragon.

[2] In the *Questions of Milinda:* "The mind of the Arhat, O King, is trained, well practised, tamed, brought into subjection, and obedient, and it hearkens to his word. When affected with feelings of pain, he grasps firmly the idea of the impermanence of all things, so ties his mind, as it were, to the post of contemplation and . . . his mind remains unmoved, unshaken, becomes steadfast, wanders not." *Sacred Books*, vol. XXXVI, p. 77 (43). For the mental and moral discipline of the *bhikshus*, which resembles that which an arhat has long left behind him, see the *Suttanipâta* (*Sacred Books*, vol. X, ii, pp. 1–3).

[3] For another interpretation of the meaning of these animals when associated with the arhats, see p. 100.

[4] *Tao Teh King*, trans. Dwight Goddard (1919), p. 36.

[5] *Sacred Books*, vol. VIII, pp. 153, 346.

The state into which they have entered, through solitude and meditation, is the "Fruit of Buddha," a condition of calm knowledge that exempts them from further study and frees them of their discipleship, since he who has attained need no longer follow the Master, being in his own way a perfect image of him. They are the "true men," because their lives correspond to the Truth, and they are "not again to be caught in further cycles of birth." They are "worthy" of reverence and worship, or, in the Chinese paraphrase based on a false etymology, they are "conquerors of enemies," [4] which implies that they have overcome the vexations of perceptions and sensations inimical to enlightenment. They fulfill the Buddha's saying, "Come, disciples, lead a holy life for the complete extinction of suffering."

They are, therefore, a small group of the elect who have achieved what all desire and who, beyond the contamination of this life, and already in possession of the first degree of nirvāṇa,[5] exist as spiritual models of the possibility

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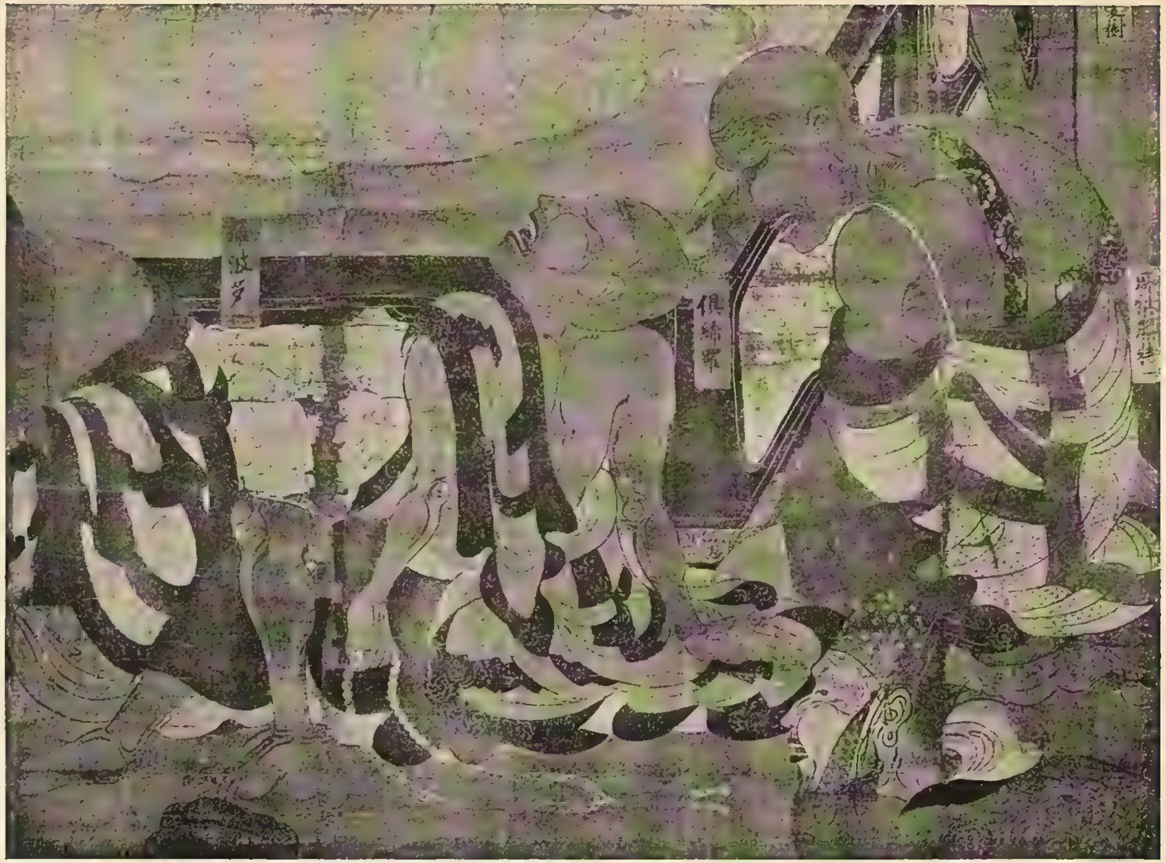
[1] For doctrinal distinctions between arhats and bodhisattvas, see the *Saddharma-puṇḍarîka*, or *Lotus of the True Law* (*Sacred Books*, vol. XXI, p. xxxvi).

[2] From the *Nandimitra sūtra*, a Mahāyānist work, to which reference will be made later.

[3] There were, later, two kinds of arhat — those devoted to quietude, of whom Nakula (Vakula) is the great example, and those who are seekers after wisdom. In some ways an arhat may be wiser than a bodhisattva, though less near to buddhahood. Cf. De Visser's interesting article on *Arhats in China and Japan, Ostas. Zeit.* (1918–1919), p. 221. The word arhat was also used, in a general way, for any meditative solitary, and Fa Hsien (end of 4th and beginning of 5th century) mentions many caves, near the site of the first great council called by Kāśyapa, in which he saw arhats sitting. Cf. the Śramaṇas, or, in Chinese, "to stop breath" or "restful." These are ascetics of all denominations, "those who left their families and quitted their passions" (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I, p. 95; vol. III, p. 245), like the *sarmanai, samanaioi* or *germanai* (evidently Brāhman rather than Buddhist) of the writers dealing with India in classical times such as Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo (Bk. XV, p. 60), or Bardesanes, called the Babylonian, or Porphyry (*De Abstinentia*, Bk. IV, pp. 16–18).

[4] De Visser, *op. cit.*

[5] In obedience to Buddha's wishes they will not enter the ultimate nirvāṇa until the coming of Maitreya, although other texts reserve this distinction for Kāśyapa and Piṇḍola alone. The Chinese, perhaps under the influence of Taoist ideas, seem to confer on them immortality.



4. Nirvāṇa of Buddha. Kongōbuji, Kōyasan

of such enlightenment as Buddha himself knew at Bōdh Gayā. To minds that have attained to knowledge as sublimated as theirs, miracles are the commonplace expression of the potency of their many times clarified spirituality. They understand what the human intellect cannot grasp, or words express.[1] They rise above difference and plurality and transcend distinctions between subject and object.

In the beginning, as far as there ever was any beginning to their story — since in the fourth century A.D. their legend was already a composite — their number was undefined, but they appear as four, and then as sixteen,[2] in some of the earliest forms in which they are known to art; but we must qualify this statement, all very early images of them in India and China having perished.[3] Even the original group of four associated with the cardinal points of the compass, where each in his domain will keep the purity of the Law, is various in various sources. In one of the *Six Books on Maitreya*, the Tathâgata names Kāśyapa, Kundopadhānīya, Piṇḍola, and Rāhula as the great *śrāvakas* on whom he confers the task of carrying out his mission, and to whom he forbids parinirvāṇa. But elsewhere Piṇḍola (West), Kanaka (East), Subinda (North), Nakula (South) are apparently conceived to be the great original guardians of the doctrine.[4]

Later, in China, they were often represented as eighteen in number, Maitreya, in his earthly guise of the jovial monk Pu-t'ai,[5] sometimes supposed to have been a native of the Ming-chu province, who died in 916, being counted of their company, sometimes with a second Piṇḍola, or with Nandimitra, or with Liang Wu-ti, the great Chinese patron of Buddhism (502–550), or with Kumârajîva (about 400), the famous translator.[6]

But the confusion that surrounds the names and sequence of the arhats, whether as sixteen or eighteen, is such that there seems to be no hope of determining the true relative position and names, if there ever was any, of some of these figures, at least in so far as they survive in pictorial art. This is especially true of the minor arhats, who have no real existence in Indian Buddhist literature other than as names. To make the problem still more complex, an interpenetration of the Indo-Chinese order and the quite different

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[1] Eliot, vol. I, p. 220.

[2] The *Mahāyānāvatārakaśāstra* (translated into Chinese in 397–439), perhaps an early fourth-century work, gives their number as sixteen (Lévi et Chavannes, *Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi, Journal asiatique*, 1916, p. 202).

[3] In what remains of primitive Buddhist art from Bhārhut and Sānchī they are not found, but at Amarāvatī monks, in some ways their forerunners, are portrayed.

[4] Cf. Lévi et Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–192, to whose exposition of this part of the subject my debt is obvious.

[5] One opinion considers him to have been a divinity of Taoist origin whom the Buddhists took into their pantheon. In Japan, as Ho-teï, he is well known and much represented as one of the gods of luck.

[6] One of the earliest references to eighteen arhats has been said to be the *Fo-tsu-t'ung chi* (Nanjio, 1661), ch. 33, by a writer who lived in the Sung period; but it seems to be an error. In very late Japanese pictures Bodhidharma is numbered among the eighteen arhats.

Tibetan order took place when Lamaism became a power in China under the Mongols.

It has been suggested that the seventeenth and eighteenth arhats, whose identity was a puzzle even to Ch'ien Lung and his scholars, are Chinese accretions symbolic of the successes gained by the Buddhist faith over Taoism. Ch'ien Lung himself felt that the arhat quelling a dragon, usually held to be Panthaka, and the arhat who subdues a tiger, usually called Bhadra, were intruders in the canon. The animals that accompany them, in any case, do not seem to have been associated with the arhats in India, although, if we are to judge by the number of surviving kakemonos representing them, these two arhats were the most popular of the group in Japan and China in late Sung, Yüan, and Ming times. It is also curious that the cult of the eighteen arhats should have flourished in Che-kiang and Kiangsi, where the great pontiff of Taoism lived on the "mountain of the dragon and the tiger." [1] One must, however, add that fifty years after Kuan-hsiu an inscription (959) describes a shrine in Kiangsi where there were statues in metal not only of the sixteen but of the five hundred arhats.

Among the best-known representations of the arhats in sculpture are the terra-cotta statues found at I-chow-fu (Paoting-fu), in Chihli, and now in the Berlin, London, Toronto, and New York museums, in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and the Matsukata Collection in Japan.[2] They are generally believed to be T'ang, or Six Dynasties (though there is no real authentication for such a date), because of the soft lead glaze that covers them and the soft white nature of the pottery of which they are made, all our examples of Sung and Yüan ware being "of high-fired felspathic order." Yet the size of these figures may account for some difference in technique, and it is hardly credible that, in a country like China, pottery coated with lead glazes became a lost art between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, to be revived only in Ming. Ming was, of course, an age of antiquarian revivals of subject, material, and form, but the simpler technical processes in the minor arts have a great tenacity of life and frequently are practised, almost unnoticed, for long periods in provincial centres. It has also been said [1] that these are not "conventional figures following the tradition of centuries." That is, nevertheless, exactly what they are, as are nearly all figures in the Buddhist art of the Far East, the slow evolution of sects and centuries being taken into consideration. The perpetuation, through a long period, of a monastic type may be illustrated by comparing the monks of the corridor of a temple in Bäzäklik [2] with the so-called "Sung" type of arhat that lingered on at least through the sixteenth century. Due allowance will, naturally, be made for certain Central Asian characteristics in the Bäzäklik figures, and their arrangement — a rigid procession — is archaic when compared with the highly evolved compositions of later times.

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[1] Lévi et Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 285, where they suggest that a set of eight scrolls of two arhats each, and two others, one representing the arhat with a dragon and the other the arhat with a tiger, the originals due to Kuan-hsiu, were the pictorial basis of the canon. They note that Ch'ien Lung examined such a set in the archives of the Palace.

[2] For the generally accepted provenance of these statues, see F. Perzyński, *Neue Rundschau*, Oct., 1913. For a colored reproduction of the London example, see R. L. Hobson, *A New Chinese Masterpiece in the British Museum, Burlington Magazine*, May, 1914. For cut of one of those now in New York, see Otto Kümmel, *Die Ausstellung der Sammlung Perzyński in Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum. Ostas. Zeit.*, Jan.–March, 1914, p. 457. See also University of Pennsylvania Museum *Journal*, Sept., 1914. In the Toronto Museum there is a small marble arhat, with head resting on his hands folded over his knees in meditation. It is said to come from the Honan, and shows traces of Taoist influence. In the University of Pennsylvania Museum there is a larger figure, in a not dissimilar pose, but of stereotyped late Ming workmanship.

That the statues from I-chow-fu are superior in quality is almost in the nature of an accident — the touch of the unknown master workman to whom the order was given. For the types, though more naturalistic and forceful than is usual, are well within the monastic canon. Nor is the idea that they may have been transferred to the cave in which they were found from a great temple, during a persecution, convincing unless we assume that they are fragments of a set of five hundred arhats from an entrance-hall, a conjecture that might be thought to be strengthened by their general conformity to the canon for such figures, as shown in surviving examples of late and degraded workmanship. In this connection, too, it should be noticed that, though differentiated, as usage established, in attitude and in the conformation of features and head, they have no distinguishing attributes such as, however confused, are usually associated with the sixteen arhats, at least in so far as they derive from Sung models. Nor is the presence of a bowl of Yüan manufacture on the altar of the shrine of the cave any evidence, from an archaeological point of view, that the statues are at least contemporaneous with, if not earlier than, an object which might have been brought to the cave for use in the ritual at almost any date. The inscription in the site where they were found which mentions repairs in the early sixteenth century is only a *terminus ad quem*. Moreover, for anyone acquainted with the worship of the arhats there is nothing convincing in the argument that such figures must have been made for a great temple, being too magnificent to have been made originally for a cave. An immense piety and immense wealth were expended on the decoration of such places. It was especially in caves that the arhats were supposed to live; it was in caves that they were often worshipped and had their shrines [3] (Fig. 1).

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[1] Cf. Hobson, article cited.

[2] No. 9., v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 16.

[3] Much more primitive little statues in stone, apparently representing arhats in meditation or prayer, exist in the Field Museum, Chicago. They are eight in number and are said to have been found in a temple in the northern part of the Shensi. Chunky and simplified in structure and modelling to the last degree and of no great artistic interest, they may, however, as the official attribution indicates, come from T'ang times.

The immediate interest these statues have for us lies in the fact that the pose and general treatment of their prototypes influenced, in a rather direct way, the portraits of priests, such as those of the patriarchs of the Shingon sect, ascribed to Li Chēn and said to have been brought from China by Kōbō Daishi (790–840). These great prelates, among whom was Hui Kuo, were perhaps thought of as having attained to arhatship. At all events, the formula for the portraiture of saintly personages that they embody was popular in Japan for a long time and, in a phase of pseudo-realistic differentiation, may be seen in the striking Kamakura statues of the Nanen-dō at Nara, or in painting, in a developed form, naturalistic and detailed, in the portrait of the chief priest Wu-Chun of the monastery of Ching-shan, which is dated 1238. Similar statues in dried lacquer are still in the Hōryūji, the Tōshōdaiji, and the Tōdaiji (Figs. 2 and 3).

Early representations are extant of the ten disciples of Buddha, who are not unlike the arhats in appearance and character. Two of them — Rāhula, Buddha's son, and Piṇḍola — are found in both series.[1] But the great disciple Kāśyapa, of whom an immense image exists, hewn some time in the sixth or seventh century in the cliff at Lung-mēn, is not generally numbered among the arhats. Among the most important examples of the ten disciples in art are the impressive statues [2] at Sok-kul-am in Korea, of which there are casts in the Museum of Seoul. They are derived from the Lung-mēn tradition, to which belongs also (if its provenance is not indeed actually one of the cave temples in that locality) the rather rough but vivid head in basalt, believed to represent an arhat, which was exhibited in the Burlington Art Club in 1915.

The ten disciples are also represented in kakemonos, owned by the Zenrinji, Kyōto, which are traditionally ascribed to a Chinese painter of the twelfth or thirteenth century.[3] And they are always represented, sometimes with figures that must represent arhats, as present at the *parinirvāṇa*. A great number of paintings recording this scene survive, one of the finest being the kakemono owned by the Kongō-buji, Kōyasan, which is a very spirited rendering of an early Chinese version of the subject. It was once ascribed, as were so many quite unrelated things, to Kōbō Daishi. It is, however, a Kamakura picture. As spectators of the same great scene, arhats and disciples appear on the inner east side of the pagoda of the Hōryūji — small clay statues usually ascribed to the eighth century (711) on the basis of a document, although most of them must have been replaced at a later

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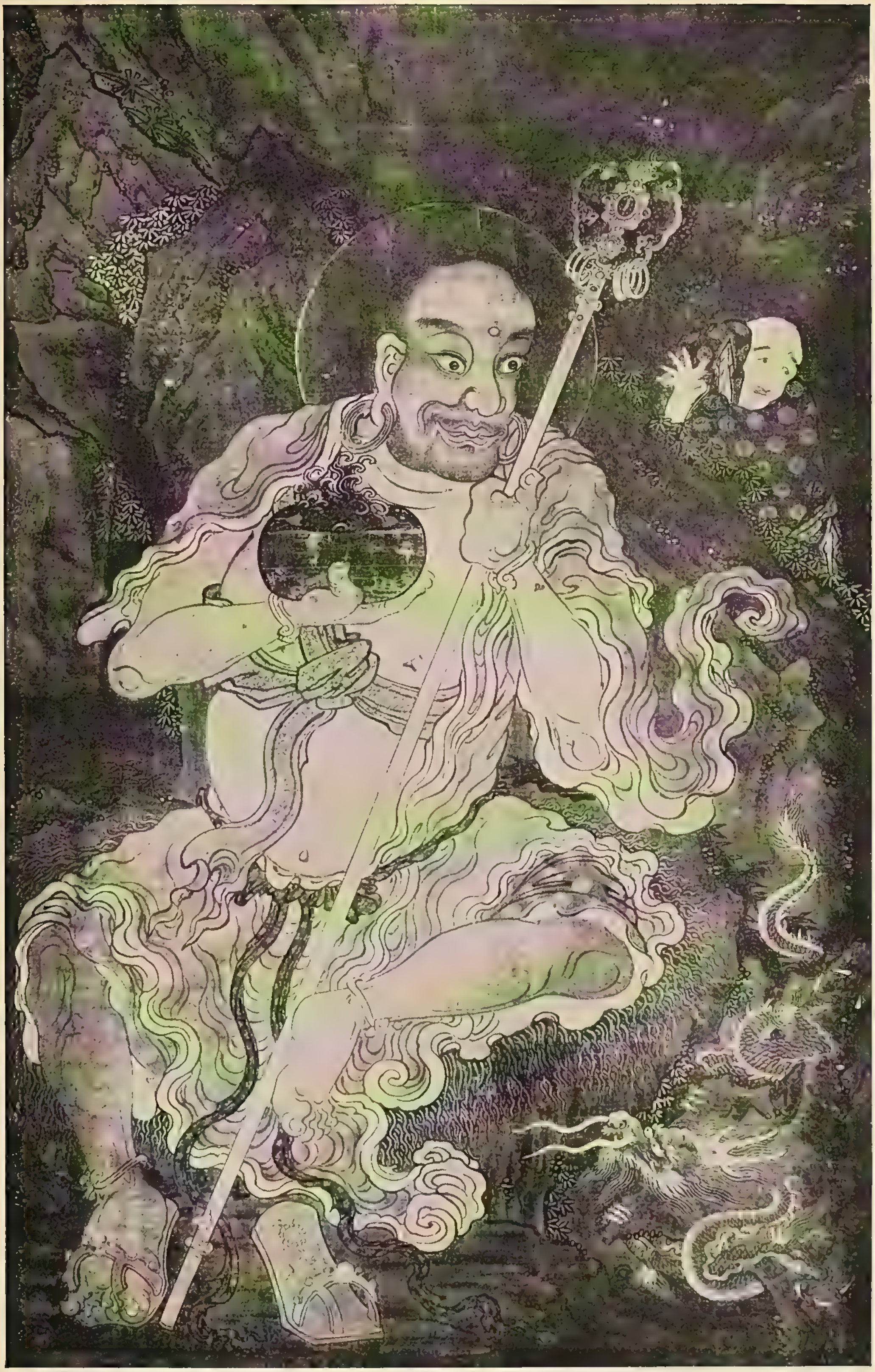
[1] See Eitel, *Handbook*, p. 46, for remarks in this connection on the sūtra on Maitreya's birth, translated into Chinese in 313–317 by Dharmaraksha, a native of Tukhâra.

[2] For reproductions, see *Sok-kul-am, Das Steinhöhlen-kloster*, Bertha Gottsche, *Ostas. Zeit.*, Oct., 1918–March, 1919, pp. 161–167.

[3] Cf. Kokka, No. 124; Wm. Cohn, *Zur Koreanischen Kunst, Ostas. Zeit.*, Oct., 1918–March, 1919, p. 176.



5. Arhat. After Wu Tao-tzŭ. Freer Gallery, Washington

date and, as a whole, the group cannot be said to be earlier than the thirteenth century, in spite of the fact that a number of the figures have an archaic look, being, no doubt, close replicas of the original images (Fig. 4).

The mixture and confusion of these two sets of figures was but natural, for the Chinese text of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarîka* employs the term arhat as synonymous with *śrāvaka*, or auditor, — "one who has heard the voice," — for all the personal disciples of Buddha, twelve hundred odd in number, of whom the foremost are called *mahāśrāvakas*, as well as for the five hundred arhats who will appear as Buddhas on earth.[1]

The arhats, if I remember correctly, do not figure, as an isolated subject, among the silk or paper paintings of the provincial school of Tun Huang,[2] although they were, it would seem, often represented in Chinese monasteries and at the court of Ch'ang-an in the ninth and tenth centuries, or, in other words, during the period when most of the surviving Tun Huang pictures were probably painted.[3] On a fragment of a large composition now in the Stein Collection,[4] six monks with shaven heads and halos are depicted, in all probability our saintly ascetics.[5] Otherwise, among the objects brought back from Central Asia by Stein, only a stucco relief of a head has any connection with the cult of these figures. It may, however, merely represent a monk.[6]

But the arhats and the disciples of Buddha play a very important part in many of the tempera paintings that cover the walls of the caves of Ch'ien-fo-tung. They are represented standing, or seated singly, or in groups of various numbers, among the figures associated with the great scenes that these "frescoes" illustrate.[7]

They appear in monkish guise and often resemble more the type we shall study in the Daitokuji kakemonos than those others supposed to have been created by Ch'an-yüeh or Wu Tao-tzŭ. But they are less prettified and empty than the Daitokuji figures, although they were, for the most part, made, as all such paintings were, *en série*, from sets of patterns. The attributes of some of the arhats — the vase emitting light, the attendant with a plate of magic jewels, and Pindola's long eyebrows — were an accepted part of their iconographic canon before certain of the caves in which they appear were decorated. From this observation, however, no deduction can be made about the evolution of these attributes for, even if the date of the silk and paper paintings found walled up in the caves of the Thousand Buddhas seems to be determined by evidence that may, in the end, be accepted as satisfactory, the age of these "frescoes" is a matter of grave uncertainty. If the "school" of Tun Huang did not run to the representation of arhats as a special subject, there were, during these years of its flourishing, and earlier, several painters in China itself who were famous for their arhats, such as — to mention only two — Tai K'uei of the Chin dynasty (late fourth century) who painted "Arhats of Five Indian Kingdoms," and Chang Sēng-yu of the Liang dynasty, mentioned as the author of a picture of sixteen arhats, once in Hui Tsung's collection. Li Chu (*c.* 900–960) and Wang Ch'i-han, though later in date, were celebrated for their renderings of this subject, of which, however, no trace seems to survive.[1] And there must have been many others whose names are lost. But among the best known are Wu Tao-tzŭ and his pupil, Lu Lēng-ch'ieh,[2] whose name occurs in the catalogue of Hui Tsung's treasures and who painted the *lohans* crossing the sea — a subject which later became associated with the name of Li Lung-mien, to whom most makimonos depicting it are now ascribed. Chang Ch'ou, in his *Shu Hua Fang* (*c.* 1616), is said to state that the idea went back to the fourth century; but how he could have known, with any certainty, is difficult to imagine, separated as he was from the supposed pictures by twelve centuries. He probably merely repeats an earlier text.

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[1] Eitel, *Handbook*, 2d ed., p. 16. The *Mahâyânavataraśastra* refers to the arhats as the great personal disciples of Buddha.

[2] Stein Collection, British Museum.

[3] Waley, *Chinese Painting*, p. 133.

[4] Ch. 00222.

[5] The composition was not a *Sukhāvatī* or Western Paradise. Cf. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 980.

[6] *Serindia*, p. 1173.

[7] For reproductions of such figures, see Pelliot, *Grottes de Touen-Houang*, vol. II, pl. 99; vol. III, pls. 150, 151, 158, 159, 160, 161, and *passim*.

The arhats are also portrayed among a host of bodhisattvas and heavenly beings present at Mañjuśrî's discussion with Vimalakîrti. This subject apparently was popular in the T'ang period, and examples of an early conception of the scene exist in the Stein Collection. Later versions and reinterpretations are less numerous, but a picture in the Freer Gallery, once ascribed to Chou Fang (780–810), and from the P'ang Lai Ch'en Collection, seems to represent this legend. It was perhaps produced in a provincial monastery in the seventeenth or eighteenth century or later.

Since the arhats were masters of the Law they are also not infrequently represented (though this seems to be a late elaboration of the tradition, on its pictorial side, at least) as surrounded by disciples who all but equal them in clairvoyance and who bring their number up to five hundred. Among the notable examples of the representation of this number in sculpture are the five hundred life-size and gilded statues in the hall of six galleries in the Pi-yün-szĕ, twelve miles from Peking. The actual workmanship of these figures is, of course, not earlier than Ming.

Even the group of five hundred arhats was reduplicated in Buddhist mythology,[3] and one such company of divine ascetics was believed by the Chinese to live in the T'ien-t'ai mountain, south of Ning-pō in Che-kiang.

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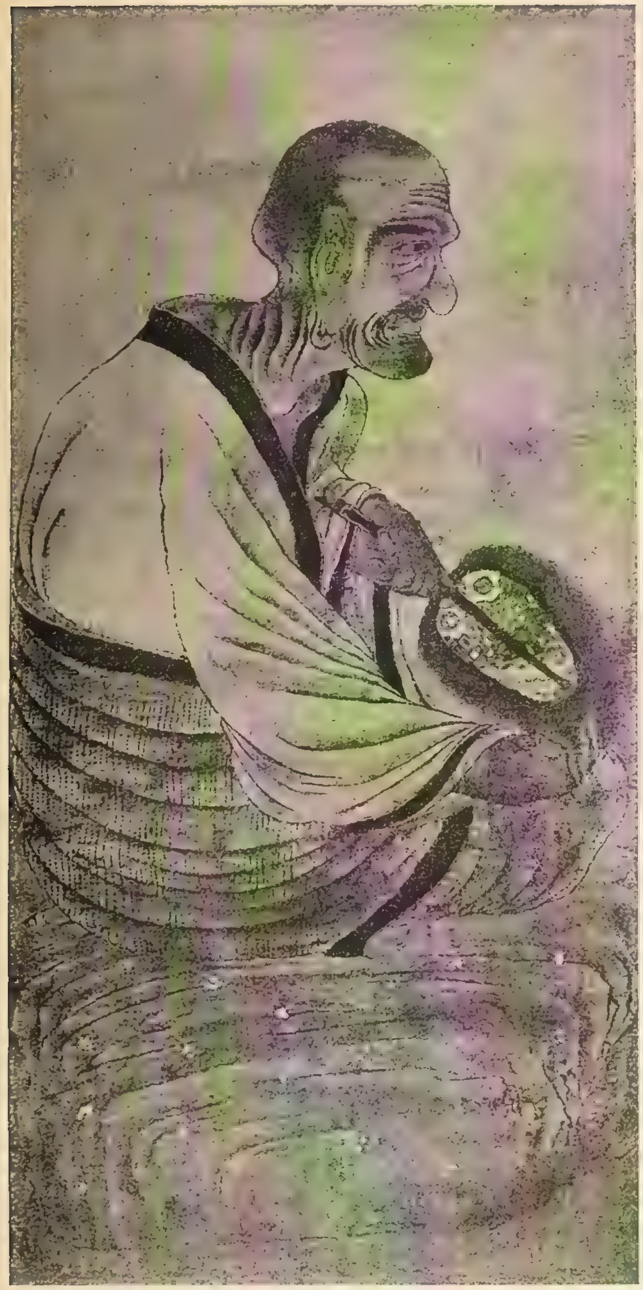
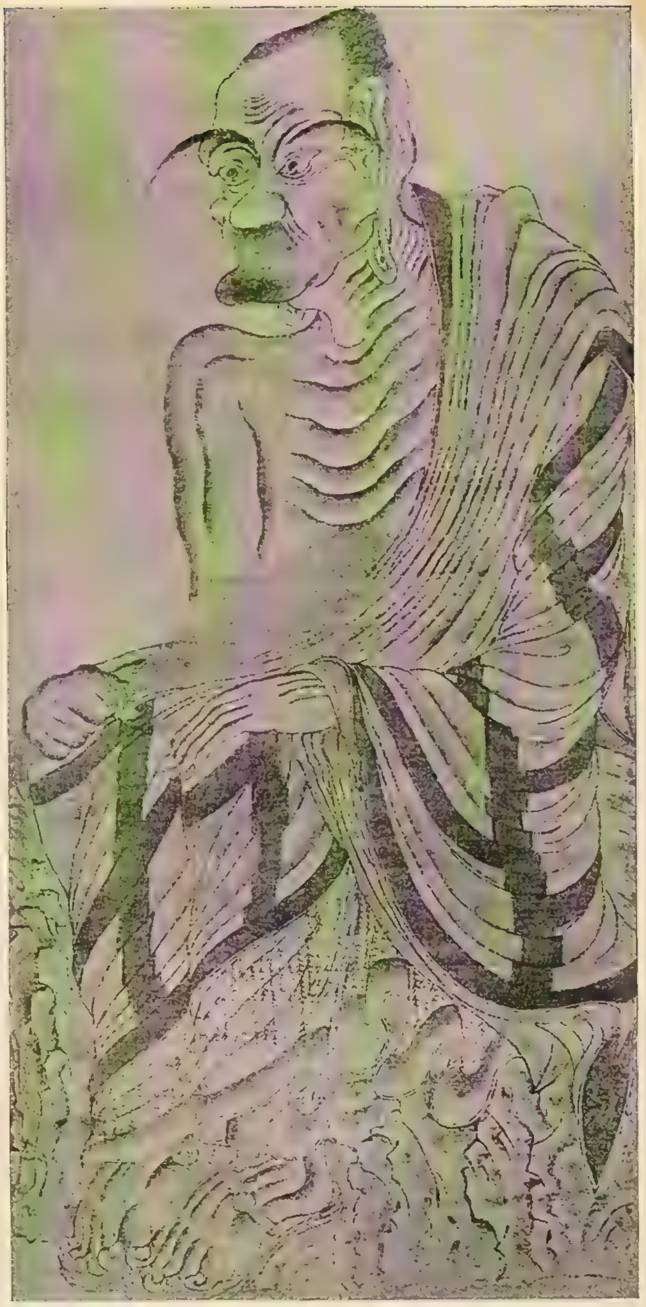
[1] Giles, *Pictorial Art*, ed. 1918, pp. 82 and 86.

[2] Cf. Waley, *Chinese Painting*, p. 118.

[3] The general council presided over by Vasumitra, which compiled, it is said, the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāshā-Śāstra*, translated by Hsüan Tsang, was known in China as the five hundred arhats. De Visser, *Ostas. Zeit.*, April, 1920–Sept., 1921.



6. Arhat. Ascribed to Kuan-hsiu.
Takahashi Collection, Tōkyō



7. Arhat. Ascribed to Kuan-hsiu.
Takahashi Collection, Tōkyō

There were in various places other halls like that in the Pi-yün-szĕ, and in Sung times the Tsing-ts'zĕ monastery at Hang Chow is known to have possessed five hundred clay images of these figures. In Japan too there were various imitations of such halls, among them the Rakanji, a cave temple with a pagoda containing relics that was built in the fourteenth century, near the village of Atoda in Buzen province, by the Rinzai Zen priest Zekkai (1336–1405). It combined, according to the legend, the beauties of the mountains inhabited by arhats in China — Yen-fung and T'ien-t'ai. In this case, too, the images were statues, and with them were associated the ten Great Disciples and the eight Nāga Kings.[1] They were the work, according to monastic story, of the Chinese priest Kenjun, who returned to T'ien-t'ai-shan in 1359. Five hundred wooden statues of arhats existed once in the shrine of the Ōbaku sect of Zen, in the village of Megoro, near Tōkyō. Dedicated in 1696, the buildings were destroyed by a storm in 1856. The Ōbaku sect which was powerful in Fu-kien, its founder Huang Po (ninth century), having lived in that province, was introduced into Japan in 1655 by the Chinese priest Yin-yüan (1592–1673).[2]

The company of the arhats is elsewhere said to consist of larger numbers, twelve hundred, or twelve hundred and fifty, being used, in the usual Indian fashion, to indicate a great gathering of saintly figures. In some cases eighty-four thousand, the auspicious number, or even ninety-nine hundreds of thousands, is mentioned.[3]

As time went on, pious minds came to believe that arhats actually lived their hidden lives in many lonely and remote parts of India and China. The Vulture Peak near Râjagṛiha was, as we have seen, said to be full of caverns inhabited by them.[4] This was, perhaps, but natural, since it was the scene of the delivery of some of the greatest sūtras. The *Pragñâ-pâramitâ-hridaya-sūtra* begins: "This I heard. At the time the Bhagavat (Buddha) dwelt at Râjagṛiha, on the hill Gridhrakûta." It was there, too, that the discourse, "The Meditation on Buddha Amitâyus," was pronounced, though the arhats are not specially mentioned among the auditors. In the *Questions of King Milinda* [5] it is stated that there dwelt, in the mountain region of the Himâlayas, on the Guarded Slope, an innumerable company of arhats. And there was a mountain on the southern border of the kingdom of Karghalik, mentioned by Hsüan Tsang,[6] on which arhats wandered who had transported themselves thither by magic.

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[1] These details are due to De Visser, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[2] Cf. Waley, *op. cit.*, pp. 223 ff.

[3] Great priests and successful missionaries were at times numbered among the arhats, as, for example, Hsüan Tsang, who had an altar (in its present state of recent workmanship) at Tun Huang. Cf. *Serindia*, Fig. 227 and p. 924.

[4] The fifteenth arhat, Ajita, is supposed to have lived on the Vulture Peak.

[5] *Sacred Books*, vol. XXXV, p. 11 (16).

[6] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II, p. 308. Hsüan Tsang's dates were 602–664.

But the most important literary source of the iconography of the arhats is the *Nandimitra sūtra*, or *Record of the Duration of the Law,*[1] the date and authorship of which are uncertain, although Nandimitra himself is supposed to have lived nine centuries after Buddha's death. He is represented as telling his desponding audience about the future of Buddhism in this world. In his discourse the sixteen great arhats to whom, according to him, Buddha, when he was about to enter parinirvāṇa, entrusted the keeping of the supreme Law by their transcendental powers, are named and their spheres of activity defined in semi-mythical or wholly mythical regions. It is also stated that they have followings of from five hundred to sixteen hundred arhats each, and that they lengthen their lives in this world to protect the Law. Into their hands the well-being of the laity and the spiritual interests of the Buddhist church were given, until after seventy thousand years, following the Prayeka Buddha, Maitreya shall come among men, and with him a new cycle of existence shall begin and a new system of the universe be established. Then the arhats will collect the relics of Buddha from all the quarters of the world to which they have been dispersed, enshrine them in a *stūpa* that they will build by the magic force of the seven jewels, and, having done them the homage of *prādakṣiṇya* thousands of times will, in a fiery ecstasy, pass into the ultimate nirvāṇa.[2] After his discourse Nandimitra rose on the air, where he went through many great transformations at a height of seven *tāla* trees from the ground. A fire, according to his vow, consumed him, and his bones rained down.

The arhats were, however, too vital a part of Buddhist lore to be mentioned only in one somewhat obscure and late sūtra. And they were certainly known in China before Hsüan Tsang translated the text of the *Duration of the Law.* The earliest mention of spiritual keepers of Buddha's doctrine (in this case the four Great *Bhikshus*) is in the sūtra of *Śāriputra's Questions*[3] said to have been composed in the last century before Christ and translated into Chinese[4] about the fourth century A.D. In the *Ārya-vasumitra-śāstra,*[5] composed in the first century and translated into Chinese in 384, Buddha mentions his "Sixteen Brāhmans." The story of the conversion of the mendicant Subhadda who, on the night of the death of Buddha, became an arhat, occurs in the *Mahâ-parinibbâna-sutta*, or *Book of the Great Decease.*[6] And, finally, the twelfth arhat, or Na-ka-si-na (Nāgasena), is the reputed author of the famous Pāli *sutta* of the *Milindapañha*, or *Questions of Milinda*, which in one form or another is ancient.

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[1] Nanjio, 1466. Translated by Hsüan Tsang in May, 652, as *Ta A-lo-han Nan-tʻi-mi-to-lo.* Eitel (p. 105) says it was translated earlier — between 317 and 420. There were nine other translations. This sūtra, or rather relation, is the subject of an exhaustive study, to which we have referred, by Lévi and Chavannes, *Journal asiatique,* IIe série, tome VIII, no. 1, pp. 5–50; no. 2, pp. 189–304. The text is unknown in India.

[2] The fire that consumes their bodily form is foreordained by a vow.

[3] Nanjio, 1152.

[4] T. Watters, *The Eighteen Lohans* (*J. R. A. S.*, April, 1899).

[5] Nanjio, 1289.

[6] Ch. V, pp. 52–69; *Sacred Books,* vol. XI, p. 103. In Sanscrit, *Mahā-parinirvāṇa sūtra.* Five early Chinese translations; Eitel, *op. cit.,* p. 87.

Figures as venerable as these would naturally, in their iconography, pass through many phases, and it is not surprising that the representation of arhats in Far Eastern art should be characterized by a great diversity. The age of a picture, or, to put it more precisely, the date and formula of its prototype (since the repetition of established patterns was almost interminable), are always determining factors, and the peculiar tenets of the sect for which it was produced. There are, however, types more common than most, from the multiplication of which most of the kakemonos that have come down to us are derived. And, among these, three more or less distinct conceptions of these figures can be distinguished, at least, in so far as the commoner kind of paintings, or sets of paintings, representing arhats, with or without attendants, is concerned. These traditions survived up to the eighteenth century in an ever slightly modified form, and were imitated commercially even in the late nineteenth.

One of these can be connected, on the basis of inscriptions on various pictures, with the name of Wu Tao-tzŭ (700–760), but of his work they must be far and dim echoes, in so far as the power of the execution, at least, is concerned. They represent somewhat clumsy figures, heavy, and more than human in the implications of their size, that remind one of the sibyls of the Sixtine, not of course because of any real likeness, but because they both seem to have been denizens of an elemental world. The influence of primitive and grandiose figures cut in the cliffs of Yün-kang and Lung-mēn might, at first sight, seem to have determined the general character of their prototypes; but the great bodhisattvas of the Stein Collection compel us, it would seem, to conclude that these pictures, or their antecedents, really repeat, in a much modified Chinese manner, versions of Indian pictures, for the transmission and dispersion of which the Stein fragment showing famous Indian images, with written indications of name and place, is an interesting document, though it has, of course, no direct bearing on the problem of the origins of the Wu Tao-tzŭ formula for the representation of our ascetics. One such picture, representing a standing arhat, is in the British Museum [1] and bears an indication that it is a copy of Wu Tao-tzŭ by the eighteenth-century artist Li Kēn. Another, in the Freer Gallery,[2] degraded in workmanship and relatively recent, though conveying to the mind that sense of terror and fascination which only the supernatural can have, belongs to another segment of the same tradition. In these figures neither the doctrinal nor the narrative elements in the legend are emphasized (Fig. 5).

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[1] Add. No. 2.

[2] No. 11.312 — Panthaka taming a dragon with his magic bowl.

Grandiose too, and primitive in their own way, are some of the arhats associated, in a legendary manner, with Kuan-hsiu — or Ch'an-yüeh, to use his *hao* or other name — who lived in the tenth century and is known to the Japanese as Zengetsu Daishi. Of these the oldest, in so far as their prototypes go, are the pictures [1] in the collection of the Baron Takahashi of Tōkyō. They appear to have suffered so much from retouching, if not from repainting, that it would perhaps be showing too great a credulity to suppose that they date from the tenth century. They seem, however, more primitive and intense in conception and more memorable as expressions of ecstatic meditation and unearthly satisfaction than most similar works.[2] Mr. Waley suggests that these arhats are possibly an early work of Kuan-hsiu. He quotes the *I-chou Ming-hua Lu*, or *History of Painting at Ch'ēng-tu*, which gives an account of his style that accords more or less with the Kōdaiji set but not with the Takahashi: "He painted the sixteen Lohan in a style modelled upon that of Yen Li-pēn, with bushy eyebrows and huge eyes, some with pendulous cheeks and high, hooked noses, some leaning against pine-sheltered rocks, some sitting among hills and streams. Every outlandish type was there, whether of Indian or Persian mien and countenance. To those who asked him where he had seen such men, he answered, 'I saw them in a dream.' His 'Ten Disciples of Shākyamuni' was in the same style and all who saw it were amazed." [3] There are numerous other references, it would seem, in Chinese literature (Ou Yang-ch'ing and Su Tung-p'o, the eleventh-century poet, for example) to Ch'an-yüeh's arhats, and in the *Kundaikwan* [4] mention is made of him and of Li Lung-mien, as well as of a number of other painters to whom pictures of arhats were attributed at the time it was compiled.

It is also important to note that, at the time when the prototypes of the Takahashi set, at least, were painted, the process of classification and identification by which, as various schools of Buddhist thought evolved, such figures as these were given more or less fixed attributes (later confused), had crystallized only partially. These figures stir our imagination. They are more than illustrations of Buddhist legend. They re-create visibly a phase, mysterious and significant, of its metaphysics, which was so subtly expressed in

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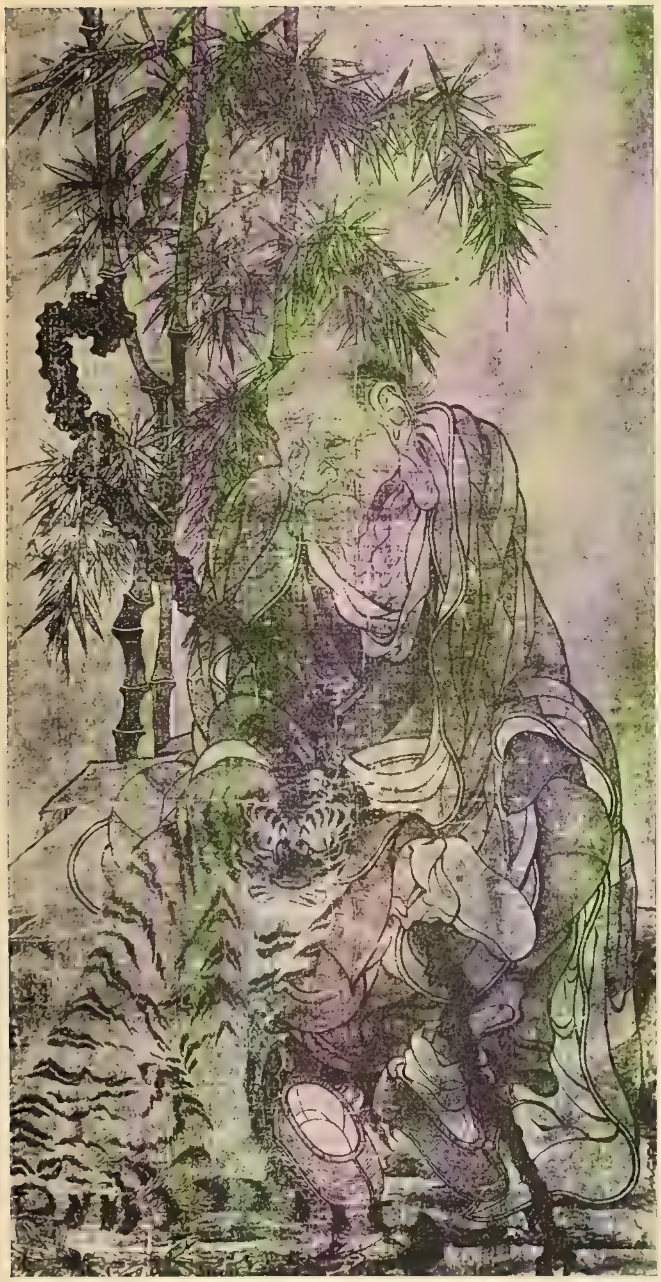
[1] Published by the Shimbi Shoin, 1909, under the title of *Zengetsu Daishi jūroku rakan*. See also Waley, *Chinese Painting*, p. 167. Ch'an was given the title of Ta-shih (Great Teacher) in 901–904 by the king of Shu.

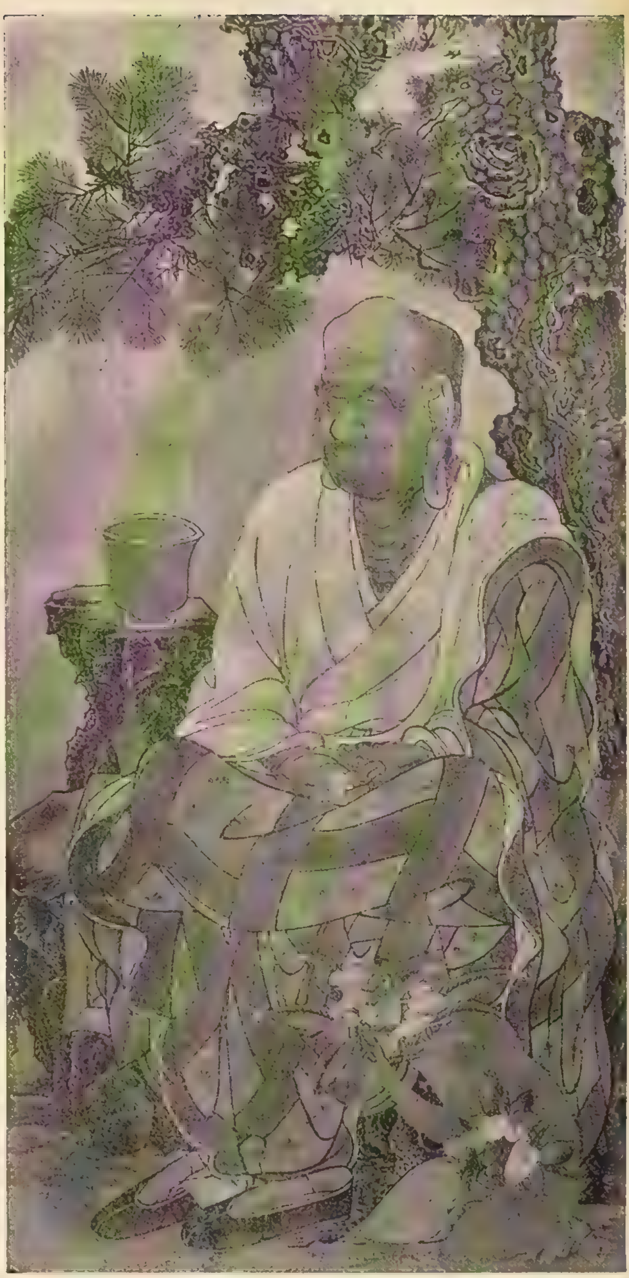
[2] An arhat in the guise of Mañjuśrî and another in that of Samantabhadra, both belonging to a Chinese collection, are illustrated in *T'ang, Sung, and Yüan Paintings*, by Laufer (Paris, 1924, pls. 7 and 8). They are ascribed to Kuan-hsiu, but I have not seen them and it is impossible to judge of the quality or probable date of a Chinese painting from a reproduction. There is, however, a picture, now on exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago, which seems very close to, if not identical with, one of the paintings in question. I have not been able to compare it with the reproduction referred to, but, as far as its execution goes, it is obviously late and weak.

[3] Waley's translation, *loc. cit.*

[4] Notices on pictures that belonged to Yoshimasa, by Nōami and his poet and painter son Sōami. Cf. Waley's *Index*, p. xi; *Kokka*, XX, p. 281; Kümmel, *Ostas. Zeit.*, vol. I, pp. 14 ff. and 196 ff.



8. Arhat with Tiger. Ming Version of Kuan-hsiu. Kōdaiji, Kyōto



9. Arhat in Meditation. Ming Version of Kuan-hsiu. Kōdaiji, Kyōto

the lost originals that it lingers on visibly in surviving replicas and versions (Figs. 6 and 7).

Unlike them, less primitive, and more obviously felt to be strange and sublime in a way intelligible to the uninitiate, is the set of more than human gnarled figures weighted down with age and seamed and withered with visions, which was once in the Kōdaiji and is now in the Kyōto Museum. They too are ascribed to Kuan-hsiu, but they are, in spite of opinions expressed to the contrary, Ming copies of lost originals whose relation to the work of Ch'an-yüeh we shall never be able to determine.[1] It is said, according to the *Genkyo-shakusho*, that they were brought back from China in 1211 by the priest Shunjō of the Senjūji, and that he got them from Chēng Ta-shih, a nun of the Kai-hua-shih temple. But the set referred to in this Japanese record portrayed the eighteen arhats, while in the Kōdaiji set there are only sixteen kakemonos. It is always possible that two different sets have been confused, and the legend of the former applied to the latter. The unlikelihood of the traditional attribution is increased by the repetition in the record referred to of a stereotyped episode, only too typical of the fallacious grounds on which most traditional attributions rest in Far Eastern art. It would appear that Shunjō showed the kakemonos to a "certain person" in China, who declared that they were not only by Ch'an-yüeh, but had once formed part of the Imperial Collection — in the same sense, doubtless, that numerous pictures in modern collections, authenticated by many apocryphal seals, certificates, and signatures, once claimed that doubtful distinction. It is barely possible that the original attribution to Ch'an-yüeh may have merely been due to a correspondence, perhaps only superficial, between these figures and the descriptions of his work given in Chinese histories of painting (Figs. 8 and 9).

The pictures themselves show evident signs of being of later date, and of the transformation of an earlier design through a routine technique typical of the fifteenth century.[2] The massive and outlandish types they portray are almost certainly Turko-Iranian,[3] such as settled in the Northwest Provinces, Baluchistan and parts of the Punjab and the Sind to the west of the Indus, but, in earlier times lived much farther north.

Chinese painters had many manners. But Ch'an-yüeh, of whose work twenty-six examples were accepted as genuine — we do not know on what grounds — by the compilers of the Hsüan Ho catalogue, was famous for his almost epigrammatic use of India ink and for his skill in creating a picture in the fewest possible strokes,[1] a style which we associate with the famous ascetics [2] attributed to Shih K'o (Sekikaku) but which in no way characterizes the present kakemonos, which are not far from the general run of Buddhist monastic pictures, except that in execution they are more expert.[3]

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[1] One of this set, the arhat Nakula scratching his back with an ivory hand, was published in colored woodcut in the *Shimbi Tai-kwan*, vol. VI, pl. 9. It is an exceedingly poor reproduction in which all the quality of the original is lost. Two other kakemonos may be studied in the *Kokka*, No. 253 — an arhat with a tiger seemingly Bhadra, who is said to have been a cousin of Buddha's and whose domain was Tāmra-dvīpa or Ceylon. (He is mentioned in the *Fo sho hing tsan king*, *Sacred Books*, vol. XIX, p. 172.) The other shows us an arhat sitting in meditation with closed eyes, possibly Vanavāsa.

[2] Taki doubts the attribution to Kuan-hsiu. The editor of the *Tai-kwan* thinks they are Sung.

[3] This so-called Kuan-hsiu type, crossed with gleanings from the "Li Lung-mien" formula, persists, much modified and faint, even in the work of a modern Japanese painter, Hironari Ki (d. 1842). Cf. *Kokka*, No. 364.

In studying Far Eastern art nothing is easier than to fall into the error of placing all good pictures early and all bad ones late — an archaeological foreshortening of the real difficulties of the subject that fails to envisage the way in which pictures were preserved in the Orient by connoisseurs and temples. Such an attitude also implies an unavowed adherence to the belief that Chinese painting rose to great heights in T'ang, and Japanese in Fujiwara times, but later suffered from a progressive decay and insolvency. But if we accept this thesis, we have to suppose, with our predecessors in this field, that various pictures admirable in their way, and until quite recently (and often still) confidently attributed, say, to Li Ssŭ-hsün (651–720?) or Li Chao-tao (flourished 670–730), date from the seventh or eighth century when, in reality, they date from the eighteenth or nineteenth and are a direct evidence of the splendor, the poetry, and the fantastic beauty of landscape painting in Ch'ing times. And we should have to believe that pictures ascribed to the great painters of the Sung period are really by them and not derivations and elaborations which prove that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries China had painters of unusual ability. There is, for example, now in the Boston Museum a rather ruined album picture [4] representing the Palace of the Nine Steps, which was built on T'ien-t'ai-shan in Shansi, on the site of an ancient palace, by T'ai Tsung in 631. This was, according to the legend of this picture, one of the historic palaces of China, and about it Tu Fu

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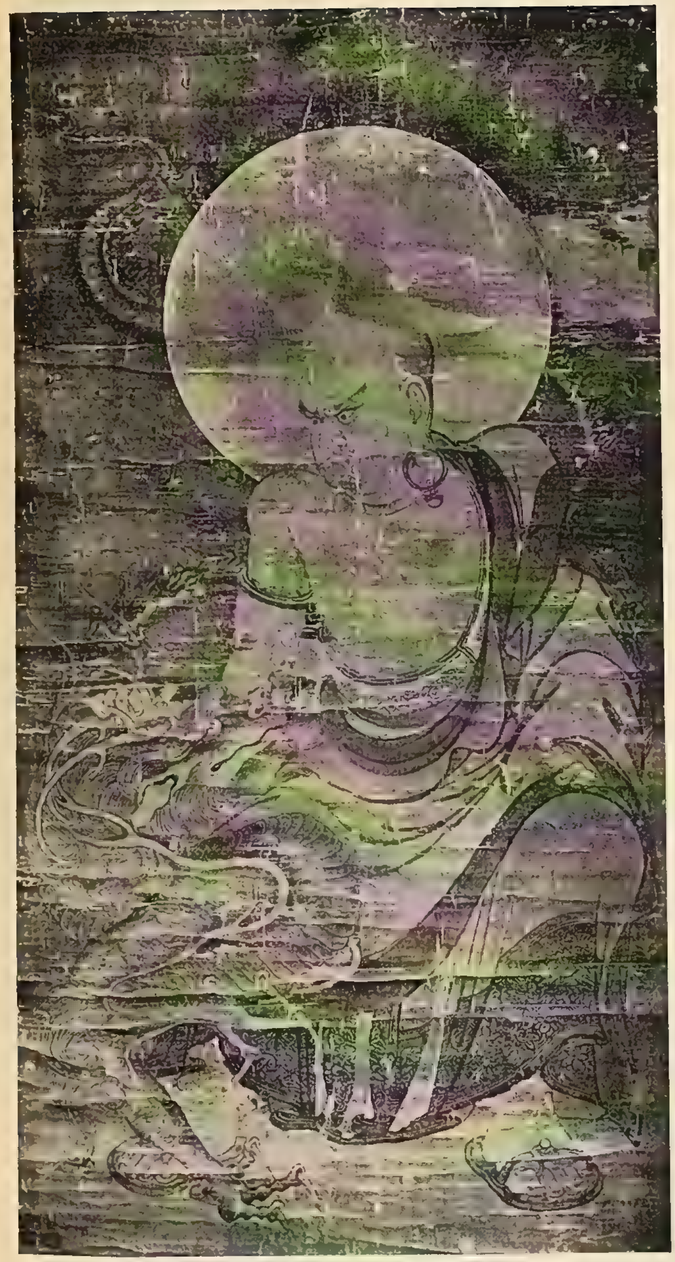
[1] Confusion of this kind is common, and in literary sources painters are asserted to have been masters of a manner altogether different from that displayed by the pictures now ascribed to them. Cf. Waley, *Chinese Painting*, pp. 239–240.

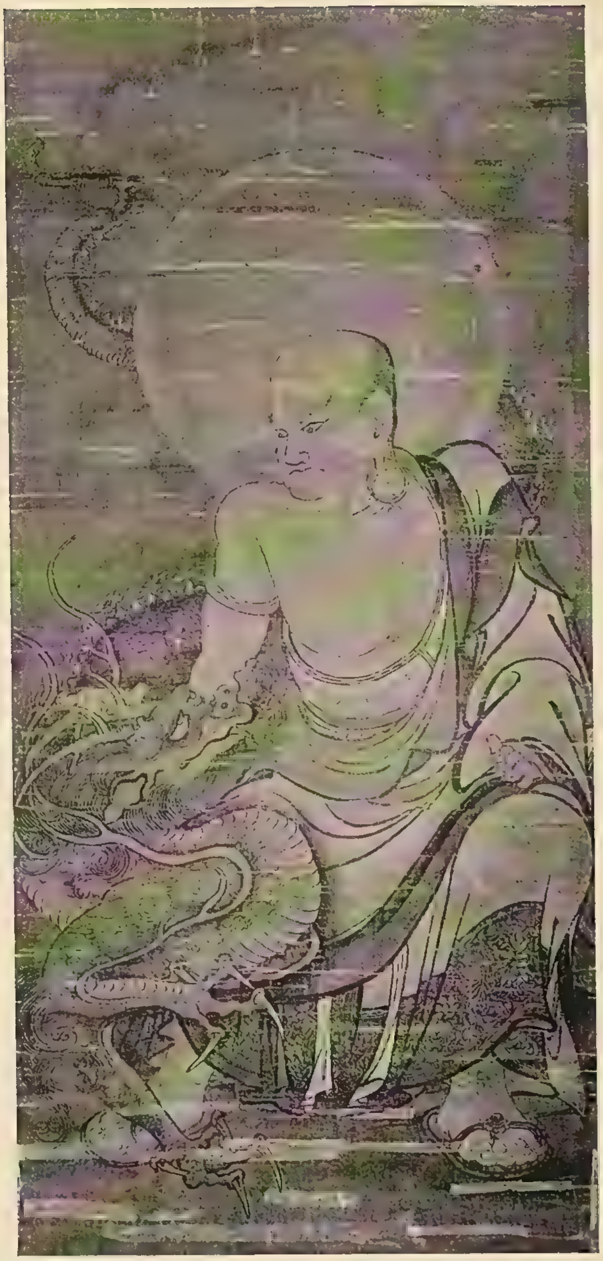
[2] *Kokka* for 1897. Owned by the Shōhōji, Kyōto. They were given to the temple by a court lady in the seventeenth century. They have been supposed to represent the arhats Bhadra and Jinaka(?), but no proof exists of the correctness of such an interpretation. These sketches are of a great cleverness and apparent spontaneity, resembling the individualistic manner associated with the style of certain Zen painters. But they are more brilliant than much of the work ascribed to the latter. It is much more likely that they are fourteenth- or fifteenth-century productions than samples of tenth-century paintings, although an inscription on them states that they were painted in 965 or 919. Cf. *Waley, op. cit.*, p. 230; also *Selected Relics*, vol. III, pl. 11; *Tōyō*, vol. VII; *Kokka*, No. 95.

[3] A kakemono of an arhat, possibly Piṇḍola, done vigorously with a loaded brush carried through until it dried, the outlines in rapid thick strokes and the intervals touched with color, is ascribed to Shugetsu, the pupil of Sesshu. It represents him seated on kusa grass threading a needle and may suggest indirectly the miracle that occurred while he was sewing. Summoned suddenly by Buddha, he took his way by magic through the air, and inadvertently dragged after him the mountain on which he had been sitting and in which his needle had caught.

[4] See *Ars Asiatica*, vol. I, p. 2, where it is ascribed to the T'ang dynasty, for other details concerning the subject.



10. Arhat with Dragon. Ascribed to Ming Period. Freer Gallery, Washington



11. Arhat with Dragon. Ascribed to Kamakura Period. Boston Museum

wrote a poem. Close examination, however, proves that the album leaf in question is merely one of a not very usual series of paintings of these "historic palaces," in the "blue and green" manner, produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and having all the characteristics of Ch'ing workmanship. Several other pictures, which once formed part of a similar album series, have been brought together in the Freer Gallery. They are somewhat inferior to the Boston picture in quality and are now correctly catalogued as Ch'ing work. But most of all we should have to ignore the fact that, except for painters who espoused the theories of certain individualistic movements somewhat out of the tradition and more important in secular than in religious art, it was never a dishonor in China to try one's hand at a great man's manner or to retrace closely or freely his treatment of a favorite theme.

Moreover, one can never be sure that a Ming copy or version, though the ways in which it betrays itself and its date are more difficult to discern than those that place a European picture chronologically, may not be a better picture than a version of the same subject made in Yüan, or even, if a few such in the end are found to exist, in Sung times. And in spite of our tendency, which the Chinese, in their own way, have shared since T'ang times at least, to find ancient things more admirable than modern, it is only too humanly probable that bad artists existed in early days, and that, in view of the peculiar nature of Chinese connoisseurship, indifferent versions and replicas of well-known compositions have had for centuries at least as good a chance of surviving as the originals.

In the temples round Kyōto, and elsewhere in Japan, there are not a few pictures representing arhats of various styles and dates. Some have long been held to be Chinese, but many are obviously native renderings or replicas. There is, for instance, in the Shōmyōji (Kanazawa), near Tōkyō, a set of kakemonos different from that once in the Kōdaiji, but like it, supposed to have been brought from China. Like the pictures at the Tōkaian, Miyōshinji, Kyōto, legend ascribes them to Kuan-hsiu, as it does also the Thirty-two Kwannons at the Bukkokuji, in Fushimi, near Kyōto. Other, but unquestionably native imitations of works in the same or a similar tradition, are owned by the Daishin-in, Yamashiro, and by the Kyōnenji in the Miye prefecture. In the collection of the Marquis Chōkun Asano, Hiroshima, there is an arhat of the massive, foreign-looking type ascribed to Ch'an-yüeh and executed in part in broad calligraphic, in part in quasi-naturalistic, strokes.[1] It only remotely resembles the arhats once in the Kōdaiji. Assigned to the beginning of the Yüan period, it is doubtless of later date. And lastly — our enumeration is by no means exhaustive — there is an arhat holding a sūtra and scratching his back, in the Kawasaki Collection, Kobe.[2] The terse, almost realistic, line is expert, but the sentiment seems late. Though regarded as having some claim to be a Ch'an-yüeh, it seems to go back to another tradition, or to a form of his tradition, otherwise relatively rare. The execution may be fifteenth or sixteenth century, but no opinion worthy of the name can be based on a reproduction.

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[1] *Kokka*, No. 406.

[2] *Kawasaki Catalogue*, vol. IV, pl. 52.

The Shōryōji, Saga, Kyōto, owned a set [1] of sixteen kakemonos supposed to have been brought from China, together with a sandalwood image of Buddha, held to be a replica of a famous statue of Shaka at Udayāna, by the priest Chōnen of the Tōdaiji, who went to China in 983. It seems to be, notwithstanding the legend, a composite set, some of the pictures of which bear no real relation to one another.[2] One of them represents the arhat Kālika seated in a dell near a waterfall; another, Rāhula (Râhura).

There is also a picture, said to be in a private collection in Peking, which is based on a model not far from the type traditionally ascribed to Ch'an-yüeh. It is dated in the Chin-chêng era of Yüan (1445) by an inscription that may be, like so many others, an interpolation. The saintly ascetic, believed to be the fourth arhat, sits in a chair of gnarled branches, staff in hand, a pine behind him.[3]

Another kakemono, portraying all sixteen arhats, used to be in the Tōji-in, in Kyōto, where it was not very convincingly ascribed to an unknown Chinese. Still another set of sixteen is owned by the Kinryūji in Hitachi, which, according to tradition, was brought from China.

Besides the pictures attributed to Ch'an-yüeh, without much more than monastic fables for reason, we hear of a set of arhats which he is supposed to have painted for a monastery near Ch'ien T'ang in Che-kiang. It was seen in the eighteenth century by an official sent for service to that district, who had copies made which he sent to Ch'ien Lung. The emperor's antiquarian interest in them was such that he had copies made of the copies, and gave orders that the names assigned to the figures be collated and corrected. Nothing further seems to be known about these pictures, and the story may be a confused form of another which states that, while the emperor was making a progress through the provinces in 1757, he saw at the Cheng-yin temple, on the West Lake near Hang Chow, a set of arhats by Ch'an-yüeh about which he wrote appreciations and had the names "rectified" according to the Lamaist canon.[4] These scrolls are supposed to have been in the temple as late as 1800.

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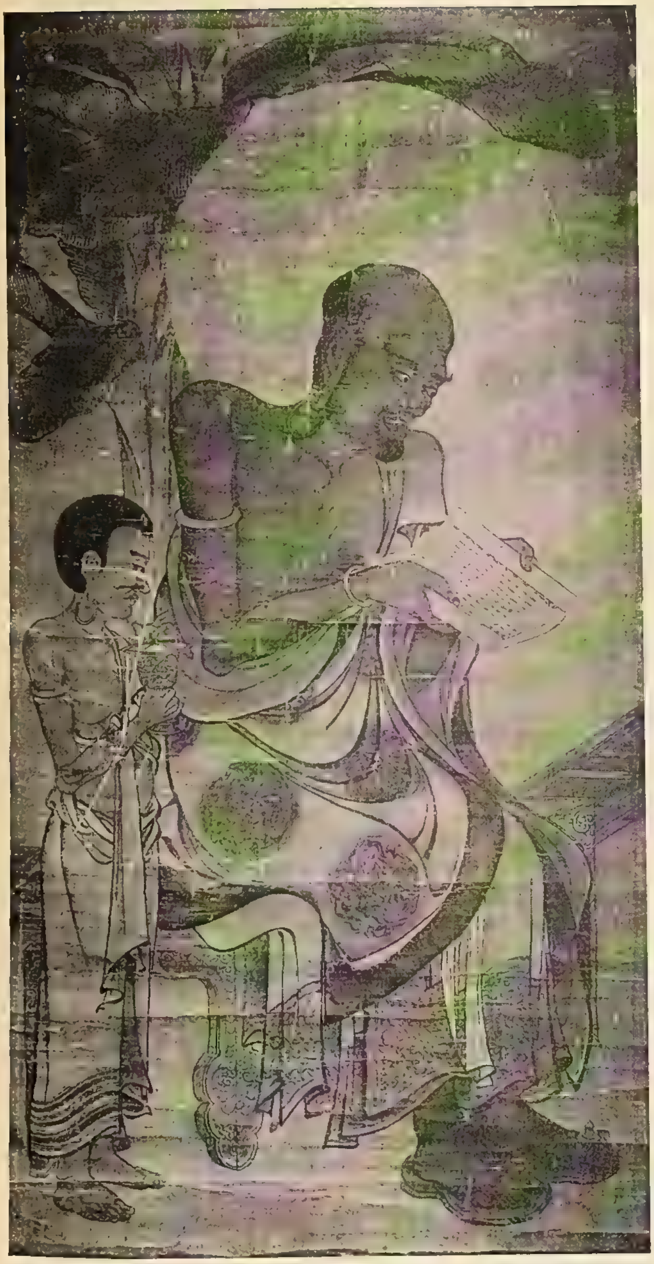
[1] Taki seems to think these authentic.

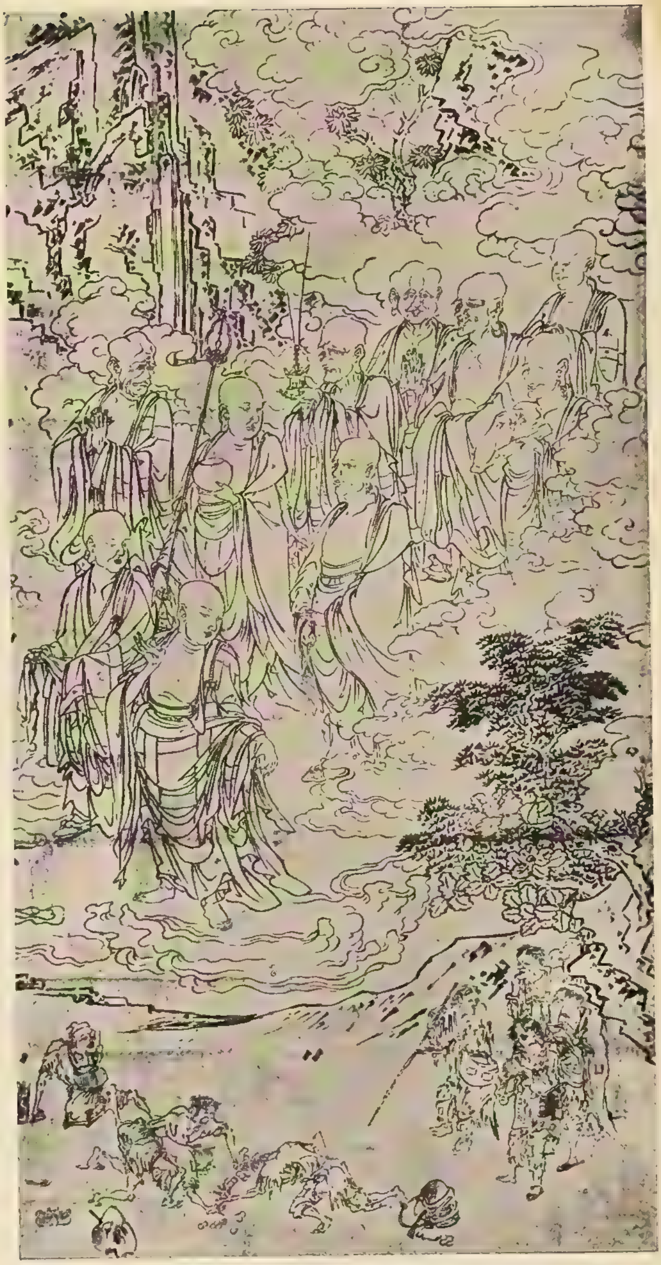
[2] *Selected Relics,* vol. IV, pls. 6 and 7.

[3] *Kokka,* No. 337. This would represent Kālika according to the Lamaist canon, or Subinda according to the older order. I have not seen this picture.

[4] See Lévi et Chavannes (*loc. cit.*, p. 279), who also give lists of the arhats according to Nandimitra and the Tibetans.



12. Arhat Reading with Attendant. Ming Period. Freer Gallery, Washington



13. Arhats Feeding *Prētas*. Sketch in ink ascribed to Chō Densu. Tōfukuji, Kyōto

None of the arhats in the Freer Gallery can be said to be close to what is traditionally (and probably in part erroneously) considered in Japan to be the Ch'an-yüeh type. Some of the compositions they transmit exist elsewhere, as, for example, the panel representing the arhat usually called Panthaka stroking the head of a dragon he has dominated,[1] of which there is a close replica in the collection of the city of Freiburg-im-Breisgau,[2] and another, almost identical as far as the composition goes, in the Boston Museum (Figs. 10 and 11).[3] All such pictures may, of course, belong to a tradition that implies the influence of a canon similar to that established, it would seem, by Ch'an-yüeh, or they may represent a diluted and mechanized derivation from such a canon,[4] although we do not know what Ch'an-yüeh's conception of the arhats really was, or how many variations he played upon this theme. We cannot be quite sure what sect of Buddhism he worked for, although the temples in which his pictures are supposed to have hung are known by name, among them the Yün-t'ang, west of Yü-chang, and the Cheng-yin, near Hang Chow. His life too, into which, however, no small amount of legend enters, is rather fully recorded.[5] All we can say is that his formula, or a formula in some way connected with his name, is traditionally associated with great single figures, powerful and larger than mere men in stature, whose features are scored with age and scarred with the terrible struggles through which they have passed, self-mortifications and solitude, but in whose presence we feel an atmosphere of unearthly peace. These are beings who have lived in mountain caves like the Hindu *śramaṇas*, or in the unfrequented parts of old forests. The wisdom they possess is not based upon an accumulation of facts or upon deductions, but upon a serene foreknowledge and clairvoyance which gives them an intense simplicity and serenity that most religious images do not possess. To have succeeded in conveying to the spectator impressions such as these implies great insight and creativeness.

Legend has it, as we have seen, that Ch'an-yüeh imitated Yen Li-pēn, but we are really completely in the dark as to the earlier work on which he may have founded his style and in which he may have found the Semitic or bar-

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[1] Freer, 04.302.

[2] Ascribed to end of Sung. Curt Glaser, *Ausstellung alter ostasiatischen Kunst in der K. Akademie der Künste zu Berlin* (*Ostas. Zeit.*, Oct., 1912, p. 342).

[3] No. 11.6212. Ascribed to "Kamakura period, early fourteenth century," but can it actually date from earlier than the sixteenth?

[4] The Freer panel (04.295) representing Piṇḍola Bharadvâga (?) is, except for the background, a version of a model used by the painter, said to have been Ryōzen, of an arhat in the collection of the Kenninji, Kyōto, for an illustration of which see *Kokka*, No. 161. There is a similar sixteenth-century Japanese picture in Boston ascribed to the Kamakura period.

[5] The Life of Ch'an-yüeh from the Tōkyō edition of the *Tripiṭaka* (XXXV, 5), is translated by Lévi and Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 298–304. They also give excerpts from the Japanese work *Rakan dzu san shū*, by the monk Tetsutei (1862), relating to pictures once in Chinese temples in Hang Chow, Canton, Peking, and the Kiangsi and Kuangsi.

barian types now connected with his name. We have only the most fragmentary and indirect information about the kind of paintings that were made in the great Buddhist centres in India, like Takshaçilā in Gandhāra and Nālandā in Magadha, although we do know that in the latter temple there was a kind of picture factory where the priests produced images for the trade, which are said, in the Hua Chi of Têng Chʻun, to have had a strange and foreign appearance to Chinese eyes. It was the dissemination of such pictures that must have determined, in great part at least, the iconography of the early Buddhist pictorial record in China; and it was, in all likelihood, some now unknown Indian conception of our ascetics that fixed the form of the antecedents of the Kōdaiji arhats, however Chinese the formula of their execution may have been.

A side-light on the probability of such a remote derivation may be observed in the Indian tradition of modelling in chiaroscuro, which, coming down from Hellenistic models and characteristic of Ajanta, survived in a sporadic way in Central Asian Buddhist painting, as is shown by the wall paintings at the *stūpa* site of Mīrān which are supposed to be of the late third century.[1] Much later it may be traced in Shingon pictures, such as the admirable Fujiwara Yamāntaka in Boston,[2] which were transported to Japan more or less directly from Central Asia, or, at all events, before the forms that characterize them had been transformed by the Chinese. Chiaroscuro of this kind, but pale and unreal, may be seen in the demon attendant of the arhat represented in one of the pictures in the Freer Gallery.[3] While having probably, as we have seen, nothing to do with Chʻan-yüeh's manner, it indicates a possible Central Asian origin for the ultimate prototypes of pictures of this kind. Similar traces of chiaroscuro may be observed in another picture [4] of this set representing the twelfth arhat, it may be Nāgasena, in which the principal and the accessory figure are so treated (Fig. 12).

That eminent Japanese Buddhist artists of Ashikaga times copied Chinese pictures, or what were thought to be Chinese pictures, of arhats, we know from the famous set ascribed to Chō Densu or, as he was otherwise known, Minchō (1352–1431). Forty-seven of these scrolls, which represented the five hundred arhats — ten each in fifty compositions — are owned by the Tōfukuji, Kyōto. This is a Zen temple of the Rinzai sect, and the pictures are dated 1386 on the basis of a "document." A great deal of monkish legend enters into the story of their creation and preservation, and, in the same monastery, there are the "sketches" for this set which are also ascribed to

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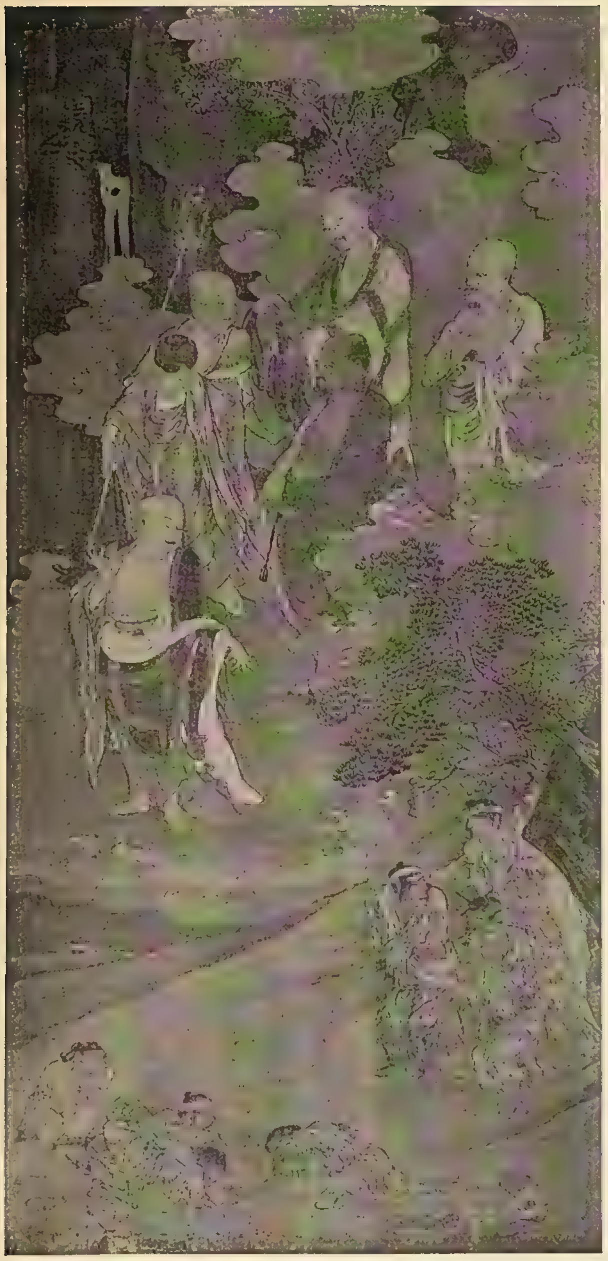
[1] *Serindia*, p. 497; vol. IV, pls. 40–45; *Desert Cathay*, pp. 482 and 399.

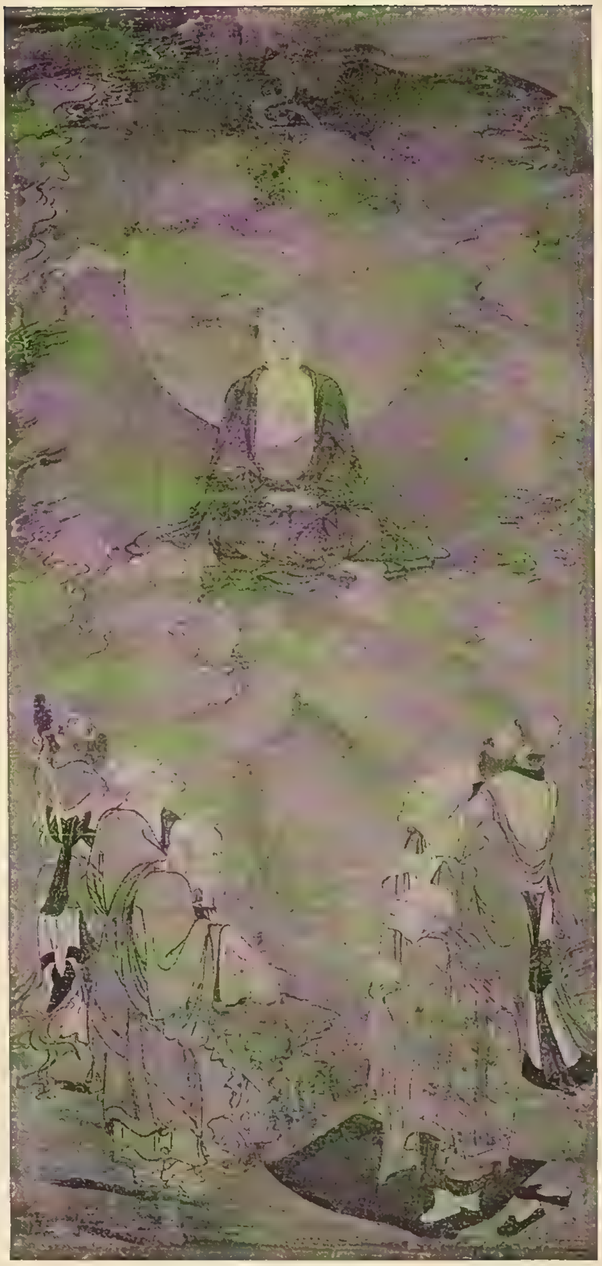
[2] 20.700.

[3] 04.297.

[4] 04.306. A replica of the same subject, ascribed to "fourteenth century, Kamakura Buddhist," is in the Boston Museum (11.6220). Cf. also Boston, 11.6208.



14. Arhats Feeding *Prētas.* From Daitokuji. Ascribed to Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei. Boston Museum



15. Arhat Sitting on the Air in Fire and Cloud. From Daitokuji. Ascribed to Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei. Boston Museum

Minchō,[1] though it is more likely that they are only copies of a pattern book that belonged to another monastery of this sect. According to the monks, the kakemonos themselves[2] were painted for the shōgun Yoshimochi (1394–1428) after copies Chō Densu himself made, it is believed, of the Five Hundred Arhats, ascribed to Yen Hui, that once existed in the Kenchoji at Kamakura. During the Onin war the Tōfukuji arhats were scattered, and some of Chō Densu's outline copies were colored later to fill in gaps; so at least the story runs.[3]

The chief interest of these pictures is the repetition we find in them of the Boston picture[4] from the set once in the Daitokuji, which represents the arhats standing on clouds and feeding the *prētas* who, on a gravelly shore, scramble for the divine food that drops from their almsbowl. But no superior capacity distinguishes it from the better kind of monastic picture (Figs. 13 and 14).

A kakemono in a somewhat childish technique, and obviously a copy of something not far from the models used by Chō Densu and the painters of the Daitokuji arhats, is owned by the Nanzenji, where it is ascribed to the shōgun Yoshimochi. It is held to show the influence of Minchō on his exalted patron, and is curious because it gives one a glimpse, through a Japanese vision and modifications, of a fine arrangement of the sixteen arhats in various attitudes in one composition. There is something like a late Sienese in the recherché packing of the space with infantile figures.

The arhat holding a censer, ascribed to Chō Densu, in Boston,[5] is a patchwork of fragments, stiff and small in feeling, and if his, which is very doubtful indeed, would reveal him not as a master but as a very mediocre painter, which is the verdict that has been passed upon his work by some modern Japanese critics. Taki, however, gives him an important place in the history of Buddhist painting in Japan. But so many miserable daubs have been ascribed to him, at various times, probably quite gratuitously by credulous or crafty priests, that no clear notion can be formed of his style.

Another set, which may have no direct bearing on the elaboration of the type of solitary arhat of which a number of the Freer pictures are versions, but which illustrates the variations that must have characterized the treatment of this theme, is owned by Mr. Murayama of Ōsaka.[1] They are said to have belonged once to the Hōshakuji, at Yamazaki, southwest of Kyōto, and are attributed to Yen Hui, who was a native of Chiang-shan in Che-kiang — an ascription purely traditional, if not apocryphal. The high reputation Yen Hui enjoys in Japan would seem to imply an achievement for which we can find no foundation in the numerous works of a glaring diversity of quality and feeling which, in Japan, go under his name, unless we accept as genuine the kakemonos representing the Taoist sages Tekkai [2] and Gama, once in the Chionji, and now in the Kyōto Museum. However that may be, mention must be made of another set of arhats ascribed to Yen Hui, that is owned by the Reiunji, Tōkyō. One of these kakemonos representing Subinda, and another representing, it is thought, Panthaka, are well known in reproduction.[3] This series, legend has it, belonged in earlier times to a branch of the Daitokuji. But the attribution to Yen Hui is quite fanciful, for they are of Japanese workmanship. The "Panthaka" is a version of a model of which there is a variant in the Boston Museum and another in the Freer, but in the "Yen Hui" scroll he gazes at a child who puts a lotus in a jar. The late composite nature of this kakemono is also revealed by the fact that the other little attendant, who comes up from the right, is merely one of Fudo's *doshi*, but slightly changed even in the expression of the face. The other figure, Subinda, closely resembles a kakemono in the Freer.[4] It is also a composite, for at his feet occurs the attendant who grinds ink or medicine, which is an element in another picture in Boston [5] and very near a similar figure in another picture [6] in the Freer. These Reiunji pictures, in many of their details, can hardly correspond to Chinese antecedents earlier than the late sixteenth century (compare Figs. 16 and 17).

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[1] *Tōyō Bijutsu Tai-kwan*, vol. III, pl. 155.

[2] Taki illustrates the kakemono of arhats looking at a picture. One kakemono from this set, representing arhats one of whom (Panthaka?) subdues a dragon, is now supposed to be in the Berlin Museum; two others are said to be in private collections in Tōkyō. Fenollosa gives a very bad illustration of another (vol. II, p. 68) — arhats watching an *apsara* descend from the skies with a lotus. Another is badly reproduced in *Kokka*, No. 30 — arhats watching an Indian gather lotus flowers from a pool.

[3] *Shimbi Tai-kwan*, vol. I, pls. 16 and 17. For later representations of the five hundred arhats, dating from 1677, in the Shingon Gokokuji, Tōkyō, and in the Ryūkōji, see De Visser, *loc. cit.*, p. 138.

[4] No. 95.4.

[5] 08.143. A similar picture is in the British Museum but, like the Boston picture and its companion piece, it is a mere monastic version of a known design. It is also much ruined.

The pictures of the Murayama set seem to be copies, probably of copies or versions of copies, in which, as is so often the case with pictures of this kind, details were borrowed from other pictures or from monastic pattern-books. The patchwork compositions so created are devitalized by adjustments of pose, drapery, accessories, and background. As a result, we have sets of one kind in which the composition of an entire kakemono is interpolated from another "set" or "sets," which, though otherwise diverse, have common details in different pictures. They were not executed earlier than

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[1] *Kokka*, No. 279, where a picture from this set almost identical with Freer, 04.299, is illustrated.

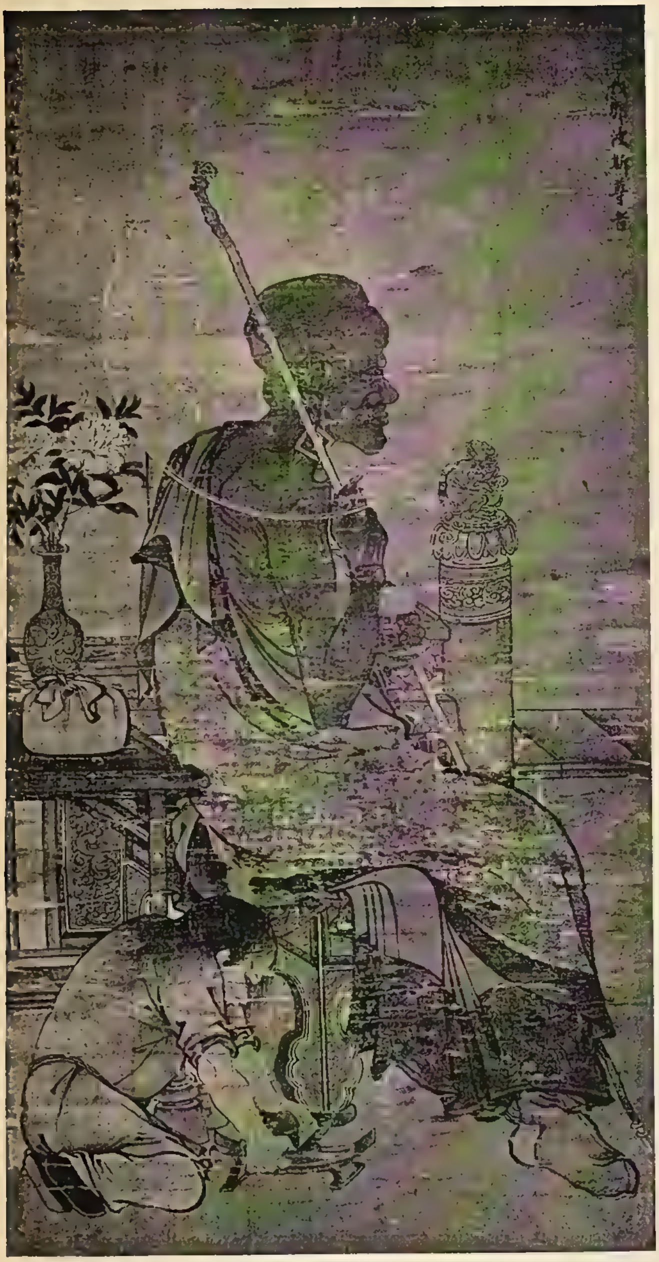
[2] Chinese Li Tieh Kwai, the immortal with the iron crutch and magic gourd. Gama is the Chinese Lan Ts'aī-ho, or immortal with a three-legged toad. Cf. a picture in the Freer (15.12), once ascribed to Yüan, now to Ming (?), but perhaps more recent still.

[3] *Selected Relics*, vol. VI, pl. 21.

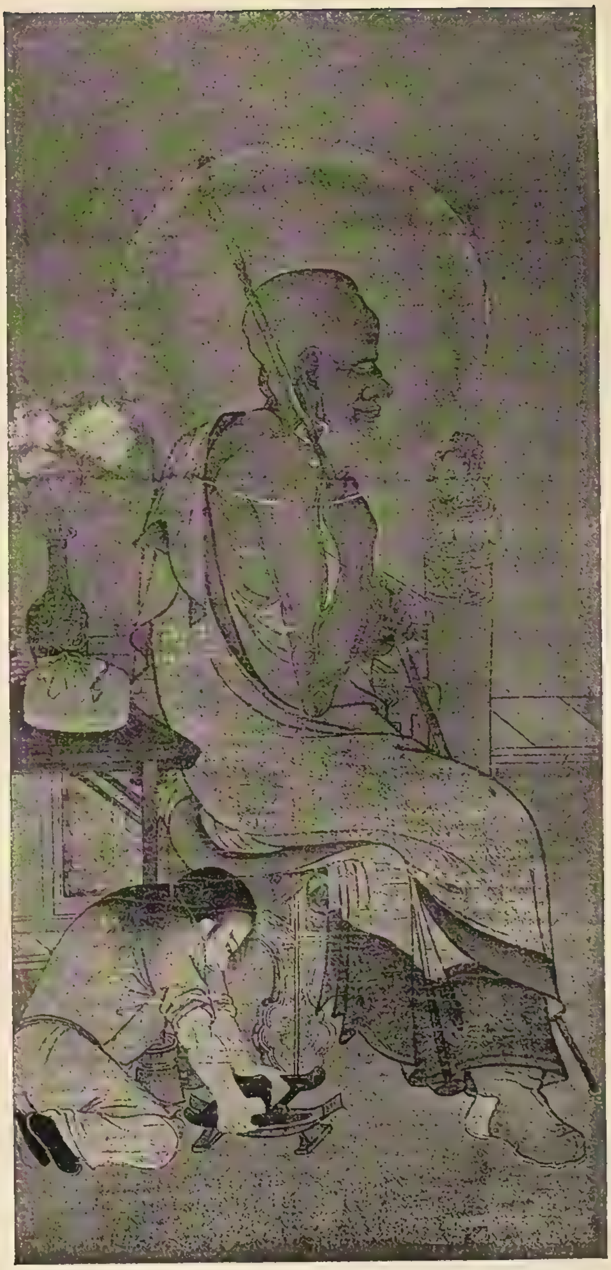
[4] 04.304.

[5] 11.6210. See also Boston, 11.6255, classified as "Early Ashikaga," but a poor, mechanical specimen.

[6] 04.308.



16. Arhat with Attendant Grinding Ink.
Ascribed to Ming Period. Freer Gallery,
Washington



17. Arhat with Attendant Grinding Ink.
Ascribed to Kamakura Period.
Boston Museum

the sixteenth century, if not later, although about them still clings a certain solemnity. They show careful systematizing of the line, an increased realism of the contour which, in some ways, reflects the work that was done on the continent in late Ming times. What interests us most about them is that one of them is identical in composition with a picture in the Freer Gallery,[1] and represents an arhat seated, head nearly profile left, with a disciple at the right holding a book. Two ducks swim to the left. The Freer picture is in very bad condition and was, of course, once ascribed to Li Lung-mien, but is now catalogued as anonymous Ming. A second of this series — an arhat in meditation (Vanavāsa), sitting under overhanging rocks — is very like another Freer kakemono,[2] which, however, may be later than the other Freer pictures of this kind, or, at any rate, may have been retouched in later times.

In Li Lung-mien we come to an artist to whom more than to any other are ascribed pictures of arhats, a great number of them portentously bad, or dating, as it were, from yesterday. They are of the greatest diversity of style and period — it is useless to mention the numerous forgeries old and new — and include pictures in heavy body color and pictures in a fine ink line. In this connection it might be worth while to notice that among the twenty scrolls ascribed to him in Ch'ien Lung's collection only two were in full color, and all except three were illustrations of poems and stories. The attribution of most religious pictures to him may be merely due to the fascination of a great name. He is supposed to have revived the thin wiry line (*Po-hua*) [3] of the outline sketches of T'ang and pre-T'ang times, but we know nothing about the real nature of such sketches; and of Li Lung-mien's own work we possess only echoes, thin and distant, in which it does not seem humanly possible to separate the relatively true from the fanciful reflection. Of the full color pictures of arhats, of which it has been suggested that he was the author, those in the Tōkyō Art School are perhaps the best, but they are of unknown authorship and date — monastic versions of well-known designs. On the other hand, even in the age of Hui Tsung, numerous pictures depicting arhats were believed to be by him, and in the catalogue of the Hsüan Ho seventeen such pictures are mentioned. One of these was a scroll in color. Chou Liang Kung of early Ch'ing times says that, while Li Lung-mien was known to be the greatest of draughtsmen in line, the scroll in question shows him to have been a great colorist as well. No one can say whether this remark represents a courtier's flattery or a scholar's rhetoric. The picture seems to have been of the kind in which the arhats are depicted with animals and monsters. It, or its prototype, belonged to the period of the fanciful illustration of the legend. Pictures that fall, in a vague way, into this category are not undiscoverable to-day.

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[1] 04.299.

[2] 04.310.

[3] Cf. *Kokka*, Nos. 380 and 381. Three pictures, done in what was traditionally considered in Japan to be his style, and ascribed to Tsunenobu Kano, are illustrated in *Kokka*, No. 323. They are the remains of a set of sixteen derived, it would seem, from designs drawn from unrelated sets. One of them, the arhat with a tiger, is a remote version of the antecedent of Freer 04.301; another, a close version of the prototype of 04.307.

Thirteen of the pictures ascribed to him in the catalogue of the Hsüan Ho [1] were on silk or paper, in outline, and most of them, it would appear, were makimonos.[2] One protrayed the arhats in a landscape setting, and four showed them crossing the sea, either to pay homage to Ta-shih or to dine in the palace of the Dragon King. The date and source of this phase of the arhats' legend is not clear, but it shows unmistakable signs of Taoist influence and not impossibly of that of the Hīnayāna *sutta* in which the five hundred disciples of Buddha tell of their former births (translated into Chinese in 303 by Dharmaraksha). In it Buddha and his disciples dine with the Nāga king at his palace in the Anavatapta lake. But there is, perhaps, another more exact literary source which is unknown to me.[3] In any case, there are certain intangible reasons for supposing that this much-repeated subject owed to Li Lung-mien something of the form and grotesquerie we now associate with it. A fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, dealing with this subject, is "dated" 1079, but the pictures of this kind that exist in the Freer Gallery are all so recent and feeble that it can perhaps be illustrated best, not in arrangement, for only details of makimonos can be adequately reproduced nor, strictly speaking, in manner, for most of such scrolls are in a fine, meticulous and unliberated contour, but in conception, by a detail from a makimono depicting this weird voyage in a mixed technique of hard and soft line. It is ascribed, with a query, to Li Lung-mien's imitator, Fan-lung (about 1200), although it must actually be a much later, rather careful, version, perhaps of one of his interpretations of the fable (Fig. 18).[4] It is also supposed that Li Lung-mien's fanciful genius may have created the archetype of the single kakemono of the Five Hundred Arhats.[5] This was something in the nature of a *tour de force*. They were represented as of every physical type, doing all manner of things among pines, palaces, bridges, clouds, and so forth. But all we can say about this kind of a composition is that a Sung prototype must have existed of the numerous Ch'ing pictures in which the Five Hundred Arhats are crowded into one composition.[6] It would, perhaps, be worth while to remember that Fa Nêng [7] of Sung also painted the Five

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[1] Hui Tsung is also supposed to have had a picture of sixteen arhats by Chang Sēng-yu, who lived in the first half of the sixth century. Cf. Waley, *Chinese Painting*, p. 119.

[2] See Meyer, *Li Lung-mien*, 1923, pp. 335–366.

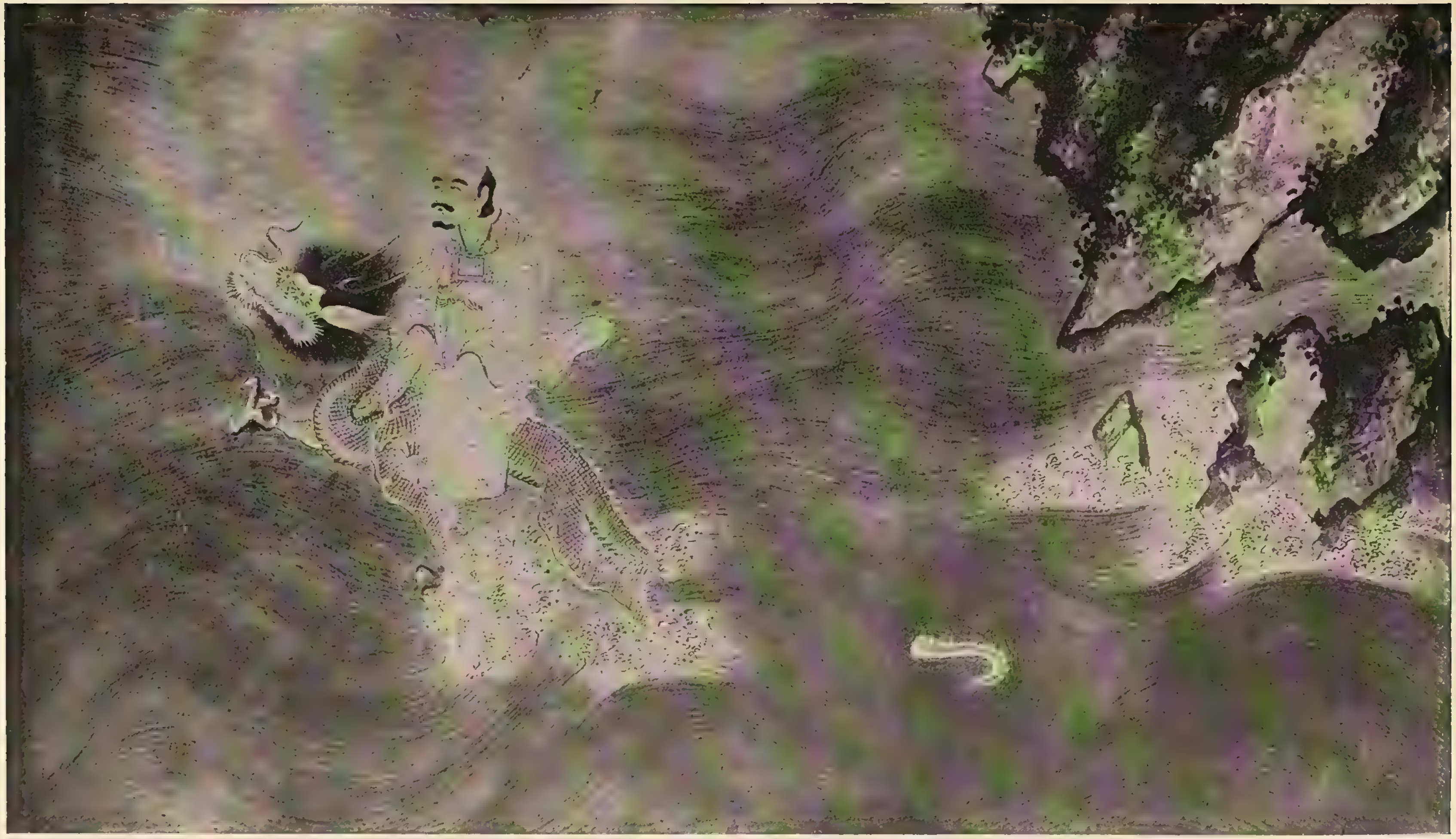
[3] He did not, however, invent the subject which had been popular or was given a new iconographic form centuries before him by Lu Lēng-ch'ieh.

[4] Freer, 19.174.

[5] De Visser, *Ostas. Zeit.*, April–Sept., 1920–1921, p. 129.

[6] There is a poor specimen of this type of thing in the Freer.

[7] Giles, *Pictorial Art*, 1918, p. 152.



18. Arhat Crossing Water on a Dragon. Detail. Ascribed to Fan-lung. Freer Gallery, Washington

Hundred Arhats on one kakemono; but the character of his picture is, I think, not known even in late versions and reflections.

From the study of the heterogenous group of paintings now associated with the name of Li Lung-mien, this much emerges. They all imply, in part at least, an altered point of view not unlike the change that came over Christian iconography in the late Gothic and early Renaissance periods. In them sublimity and simplicity have given way to a trivial humanizing fancy; and from them it is evident that in Sung times skill in grouping many figures gracefully and naturalistically was more a proof of talent than the delineation of powerful single figures. Pictorial treatment of the magical powers of the arhats became the artist's aim, not an imaginative realization of their semi-divine nature as exemplars of Buddha's teaching, or their rôle as illuminated protectors of the essence of the Law. In other words, the picturesque, the narrative, the episodic replace the grandiose and the symbolic. The style had changed, even in religious art, to something nearer the manners and thought of the day, though in the provinces the old forms lived on, growing stiffer and weaker with the lapse of time.

Among all the pictures that fall into this category, the Daitokuji set of arhats, which was also once ascribed to Li Lung-mien, illustrates, in all its implications, the new vision. The evident intention of most of these pictures is to put into visual form the supernatural element in the literary sources on which they are based, and the marvel and the revelation is rather in the act performed than in the figures themselves. As a result we find in them doll-like forms of monkish creation, which sometimes remind us of Fra Angelico's puppets delicately set in childish paradises. Through such illustration a religion, grown complicated and infirm, was brought nearer the understanding of the unintelligent; the miraculous naturally took the place of the severe, serene image of moral insight and intellectual conquest, and the painter's attention is chiefly directed to giving, through the composition and the relation of the figures to one another and to the whole, a sense of supernatural incidents not unlike the exploits of the apostles Peter and Paul in the *Golden Legend*.[1]

In these kakemonos the arhats become semi-divine jugglers, conjurers who rise from the solid earth and sit, in the diamond pose, upon the air — a feat similar to that performed by Nandimitra after the delivery of the sūtra of the *Duration of the Law*. They walk on clouds like the angels of Umbrian pictures; they draw weird lights and fires from magic bowls; they cross water dry-shod;[1] they strip from their faces the mask of Avalokiteśvara with whom, as a miracle, they had assumed identity; they watch, with rapt joy of approaching deliverance on their faces, elementals who pass through the sky on waves of unearthly light, not to carry the bones of Buddha to the ends of the earth, but to collect them at their behest and deposit them in that *stūpa*[2] around which, before the coming of Maitreya, they will do their final act of homage before passing into parinirvāṇa (compare Figs. 15, 19, 20 and 22).

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[1] One of the greatest magicians among the arhats was Piṇḍola, the subduer of heretics. A separate cult, which arose in Northwest India, flourished in China and was dedicated to him. Lévi and Chavannes have studied this subject profoundly in the article we have cited, pp. 205 ff.

In manner these pictures are essentially Chinese. In the treatment of the trees half lost in mist, and in the arhats themselves, who are portrayed as well-fed and complacent monks, they are realistic, but they are archaistic in many of the minor details, as, for example, the decoration of the garments of some of the accessory figures with pseudo-Indian designs. Realistic too in its treatment is the distinction between the pale features of most of the arhats and the dark faces of some of their servants. This distinction, of course, rests on the immemorial Brāhman organization of society, and was traditional, although the white arhats are represented not as Aryans but as Chinese, and several of the dark arhats are of a type more negroid than Dravidian, which may mean that the Chinese creator of these compositions had seen true Africans who reached China from Abyssinia through the slave trade conducted by southern Arabians.

Their greatest interest, however, undoubtedly lies in their admirable spacing and imaginative perspective, which obeys no fixed rules, but fluctuates to meet the needs of each subject, the general effect being gained by recessive planes and partial superpositions isolated by drifting cloud and mist.

They irradiate tranquillity and ecstatic buoyancy of spirit, in spite of the heavy and even stupid execution of some of the figures. The religious emotion they express, if somewhat suffused with a vague sentimentality,[3] is memorably felt, and Mr. Berenson[4] noticed long ago that we are moved by these pictures

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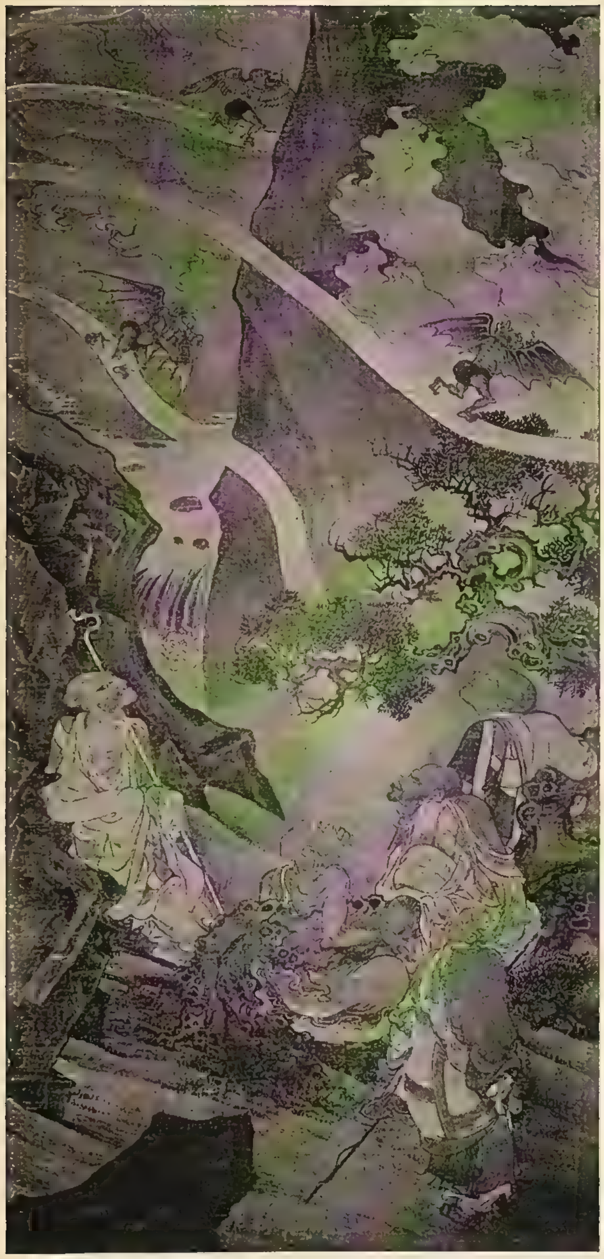
[1] The *Âkaṅkheyya sutta* (*Sacred Books*, vol. XI, p. 214), defines the perfect *bhikshu* as one able "to walk on water, as if on solid ground; to travel cross-legged through the sky, like the birds on wing."

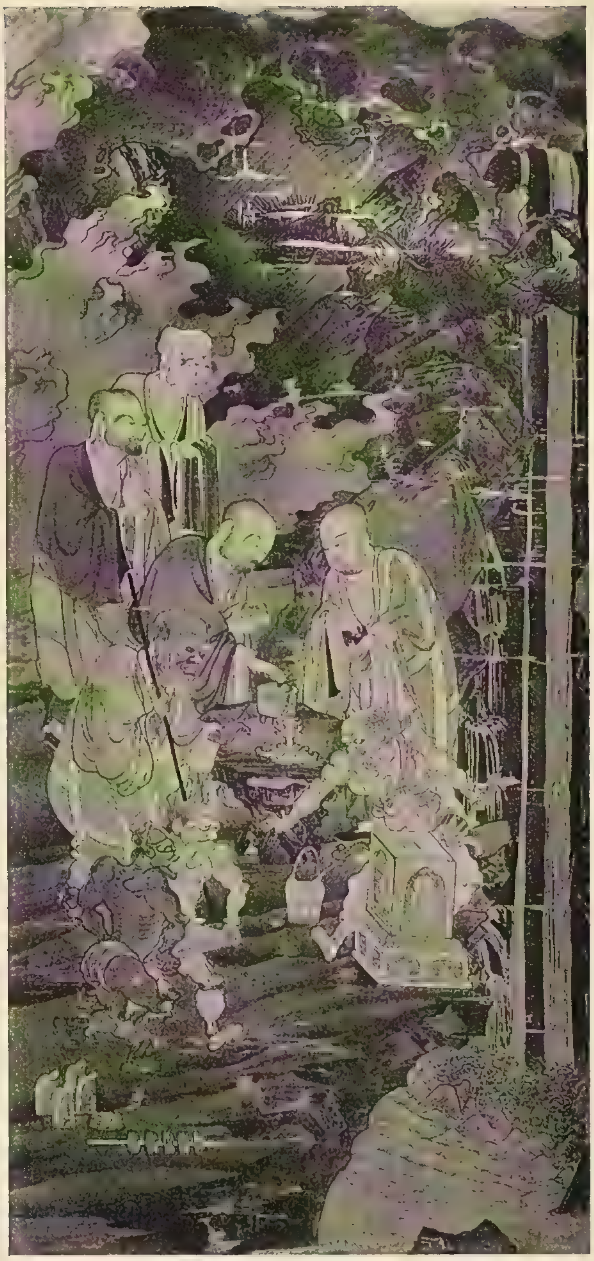
[2] For illustration, see *Kokka*, No. 274.

[3] The subjects illustrated by these scrolls are sometimes hard to define, and it is possible that some represent imaginary incidents in the lives of the arhats which were current in the verbal tradition of the monasteries in China, where rolls of this kind were first created. It would seem, however, more likely that they illustrate a conglomerate mass of legend drawn from many monkish works that are now unknown. One of them seems to portray an incident connected with the legend of the introduction of Buddhism into China, in which Buddhist adepts triumphed over Taoist magicians who were evidently less divinely sustained or instructed. On a burning altar Buddhist sūtras resist the flames, but the Taoist treatises are completely consumed, to the amazement and dismay of their votaries. The legendary miracle represented in this kakemono (Boston, 06.290), at which two Confucianists are impressed but apparently unconverted spectators, was supposed to have been performed in the reign of Ming Ti (69 A.D.), by Buddhist missionaries Kāśyapa Mātañga and the first Dharmaraksha who came to China as a result of the emperor's dream of the "man of gold," and were lodged in the White Horse Monastery. According to some versions of the legend the Tao Teh King alone was snatched from the burning by the Taoist priests (Fig. 21).

[4] *A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend*, pp. 13 ff.



19. Arhats Watching Demons Bringing the Bones of Buddha from the Ends of the World. From Daitokuji. Ascribed to Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei. Boston Museum



20. Arhats Making Demons Build a *Stupa*. Ascribed to Chou Chi-ch'ang. Daitokuji, Kyōto

as we are by Sassetta's illustrations of the Franciscan legend. The execution, however, it is needless to add, of Sassetta's finest work vibrates with an alert creative consciousness, while the workmanship of the Daitokuji pictures never rises above the level of monastic routine.

And when all allowance has been made for retouching and, in certain cases, repainting, little doubt can be entertained that whoever the obscure collaborators, Chou Chi-ch‘ang and Lin T‘ing-kuei, may have been, to whom the whole set is now ascribed, the compositions, by their variety and imaginative insight, imply that no one but a master could have created the originals on which this set is based. There are, moreover, numerous passages in these pictures which indicate that they were produced in Japan, perhaps by a group of monastic painters consisting of immigrant Chinese monks (possibly from T‘ien T‘ai-shan, where one group of five hundred arhats were believed to have settled and were especially worshipped), who worked from drawings they brought over from China with them, and were helped in the actual labor of laying on the colors and executing various details, as in all probability they would have been, by native painters living in the same monastery.

Originally the set consisted of one hundred rolls, each representing five arhats with attendant figures. Ten are now in Boston; two supposed to come from this set, but of doubtful origin, are in the Freer Gallery; and six of the remaining kakemonos in Japan were replaced, at an unknown date, by a Kano painter's versions. One of those still in Japan bears the inscription: "The wife of Ch‘en Ching-i, an official in the village of Ku-yü-li in Fêng-lo, was once prompted by her devotional spirit to present paintings of five hundred arhats to the temple of Hui An-yüan. In accordance with her wishes the pictures were deposited in the fifth year of Ch‘un-hsi [1179] through the priest I-shao. The author of these portraits was Chou Chi-ch‘ang." This inscription is in gilt letters and hardly legible. The monastery mentioned was in Ning-pō-fu in Che-kiang, and the date falls in the South Sung dynasty. Similar inscriptions, on other pictures of the set, give the author as Lin T‘ing-kuei.[1] Perhaps we have in this fact an indication that these pictures are copies of a composite "set," like so many others. They are, in the form in which they have come down to us, certainly of varying quality and by various hands.[2] It throws an interesting side-light on the confusion that surrounded the authorship of these pictures that they have not only, as has been said, been ascribed to Li Lung-mien, but that, in spite of the inscriptions some of them carry and the comparative lateness of the canon they illustrate, they were long believed to be by Kuan-hsiu.

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[1] For Taki's remarks on the history of these pictures and on the inscriptions that have been discovered on some of them, see *Kokka*, No. 238. For other illustrations of them, see vol. IV of the Kyōto Loan Exhibition Catalogue.

[2] Taki noticed the inequality in their execution. He adds, very pertinently, that most "Chinese pictures" of this subject are mere copies. But he considers these superior to those representing arhats in the Tōkyō Art School or in the Tōdaiji (*Kokka, loc. cit.*). Three of this set are reproduced in Fenollosa's *Epochs* (vol. II, pp. 14, 18, 60), the former as School of Li Lung-mien, the last as Lin T‘ing-kuei.

Apart from questions of authorship, their history is shrouded in a good deal of obscurity. They are believed to have been originally in the Jufukuji, in Kamakura, which was founded by the Japanese priest Eisai, a devotee of the Dhyāna or Zen sect, who visited the Rock Bridge of T'ien T'ai-shan, which was supposed to be the home of the five hundred arhats that came from India with Vakkula. Later they are said to have passed into the hands of the Hōjō family at Odawara, where they were captured by Hideyoshi, who gave them to the Hōkwōji, a new Tendai temple he had built, from which they were transferred to the Daitokuji.

The Daitokuji, which was built in 1323, is a Zen monastery, and the peculiar conception of the arhats of which these kakemonos are an illustration indicates that their prototypes were also made for a monastery of the *dhyāna* sect, of which Bodhidharma is reputed to have been the earliest exponent in China. The philosophic attitude of the monastic subjectivists of this branch of Buddhism is traceable in the treatment of nature in these pictures, though we shall have to go, of course, to works like those attributed to Mu-ch'i for the delineation of arhats in black and white in the manner usually considered to be typical of the work of the devotees of this sect, at least among the Japanese.

More than that, there is something in the execution of several of these rolls, especially in the one [1] that represents an arhat peeling from his face the mask of Kuan-yin, which makes it fairly certain that, at various times from the late fifteenth century almost down to our own day, carefully executed Japanese copies were made to replace those rolls which had suffered from use or accident. In another [2] of the Boston portion of the set, which represents five arhats, an attendant demon, and a guard, the prettiness of the figures, the poor drawing of the rocks and leaves seem to be due to the intervention of a Japanese imitator (Fig. 22).

Of the pictures in the Freer, one, once ascribed to Ch'ao Ch'ang (Chō-Shō; flourished about 1000), and now to an unknown Chinese of Ming, was bought in Tōkyō as coming from this set. It represents three arhats in the foreground, another crossing a natural bridge that swings its arch high up, and two others on clouds. As workmanship it is poor in quality, though not poorer than the poorest specimens of this set now preserved in Boston. Made up of bits, it has been mended and is not impossibly a very late Japanese copy of a kakemono that once may have formed part of this or of a kindred series. The rock bridge at any rate recalls the famous natural bridge of T'ien T'ai-

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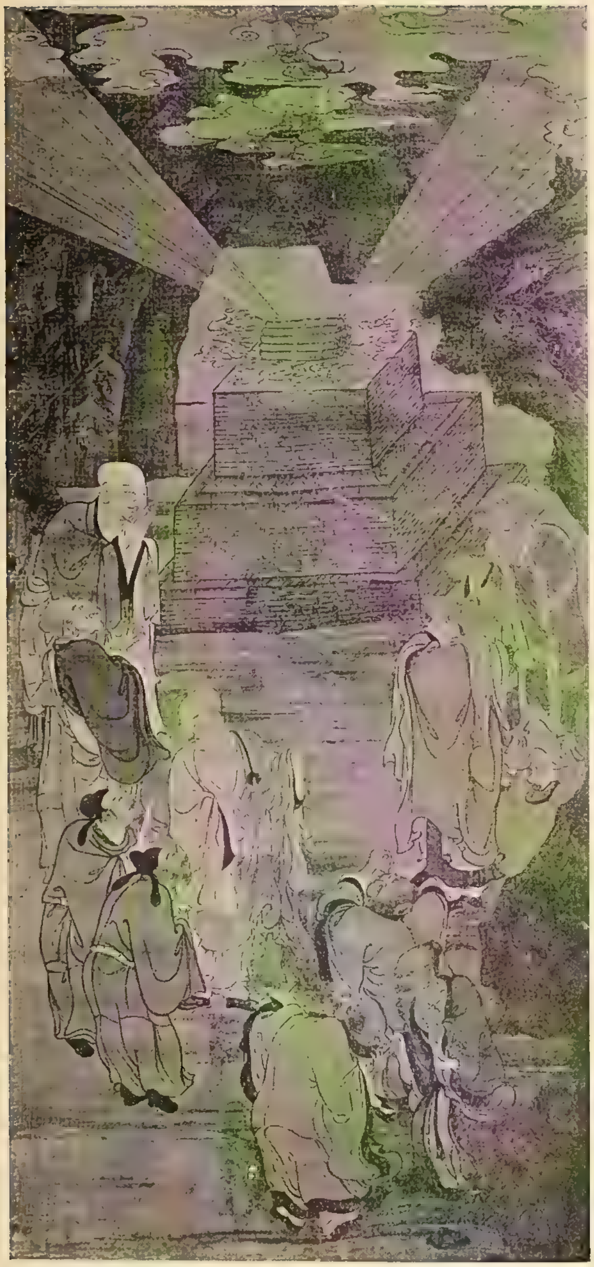
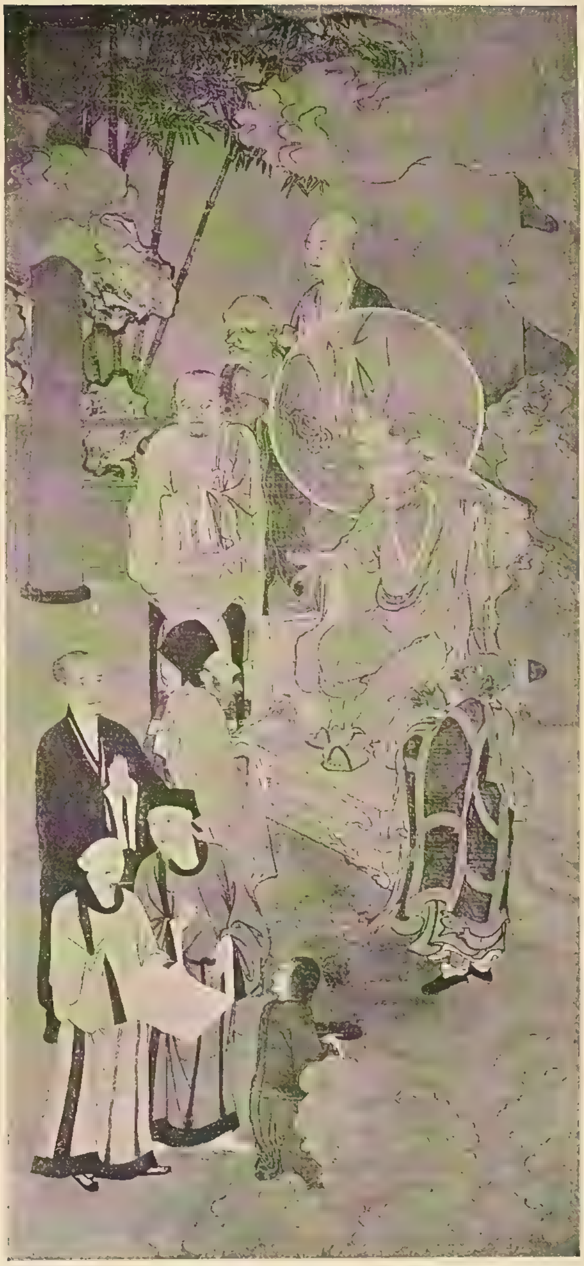
[1] Boston, 06.289.

[2] 06.288.



21. Arhats. The Miracle of the Books. From Daitokuji. Ascribed to Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei. Boston Museum



22. Arhat Putting Off the Guise of the Eleven-headed Kuan-yin. From Daitokuji. Boston Museum

shan. It may, of course, poor as it is, be earlier than it seems, but it yields no satisfactory clue to such a supposition. The second picture in the Freer Gallery that seems to have some relation to the Daitokuji arhats represents them washing their clothes in a rocky cleft in the mountains. It was bought from Fenollosa (to whom part of the Daitokuji pictures now in Boston once belonged) in 1902, as one of this famous series. The figures are slightly larger than those of the other kakemonos, perhaps because they appear in the near foreground. This picture is now classified as "Ming-Ch'ing." Heavy and stumbling technically, it is almost certainly a very late Japanese interpolation.[1]

During the Ming period traditional models of single figures or groups of arhats, whether ultimately of T'ang or of Sung origin, were copied sometimes, as we have seen, with all the slavish care the copyist could command, sometimes with variations not entirely happy. Occasionally they were transformed in a somewhat bombastic manner. These distinctly Ming kakemonos are rhetorical, and in them the calligraphic flow of the drapery is mostly a kind of frozen dexterity devoid of life.[2]

When single arhats are represented, the energetic T'ang feeling for character in their features gives way to a wooden emptiness that seems to reflect the influence of a Sung type which had its justification when it was part of a space composition, but is doubly feeble when expanded in size and isolated. Of this kind of picture the Freer Gallery owns several, notably one representing an arhat which, like an almost identical picture in Boston, is one of a well-known type of set, other rolls of which are scattered through public and private collections in the Occident and Orient. Different specimens of this variety of "Ming" work may belong to dates as far apart as the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The technique in which they are painted varies from a heavy body color, used chiefly in the delineation of the figures, to a summary use of India-ink contours heightened at most, here and there, with a light wash.

The interrelation of surviving sets, or so-called sets, of arhats of different styles, mostly made in Ming times, and ascribed to different masters, can be illustrated by the similarity that exists between a picture of this same series at the Freer, also once ascribed to Li Lung-mien and now to an unknown artist of the Ming dynasty,[3] with a kakemono illustrated in the *Kokka* and also ascribed to Li Lung-mien.[4] In both, an arhat is seated staring left, holding in his right hand a jewel which he touches with the middle finger of the other hand. Behind him[1] a tree and beside him to the right an attendant. We have in them a good example of the variation of minor details, for in the Freer picture the attendant comes forward in the same relative position, but half-supplicating, with open hands held up — a figure, and a beautiful figure, out of some other composition and different in face and dress from the similar figure in the *Kokka* woodcut. The tree is also different. It is hard to believe that the Freer picture, which seems to have been retouched, is earlier than late Ming. Of the date of the picture illustrated in the *Kokka* nothing can be said without reference to the original.

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[1] 07.139 and 02.224.

[2] Aberrations of piety and a misdirected patience have produced, from time to time, other variations of groups of arhats like those we find in the Daitokuji pictures. They, however, are not drawn. They are "composed" of the characters of a sūtra written infinitesimally small and in sequence, in such a way as to build up the entire composition out of sacred words. An example by Enjinsai is illustrated by Taki in his article on *Chinese and Japanese Calligraphy* (*Kokka*, No. 201).

[3] 04.309.

[4] Vol. for 1892.

Another picture[2] in the same group at the Freer, an arhat looking down at a deer, recalls an arhat in the Tōkyō Art School, to which we have already referred, ascribed to Li Lung-mien and illustrated in the *Kokka*,[3] but the lower part of the body and the arms are differently arranged. The deer is of similar design, but his legs are differently placed, and in the picture in Japan an *apsara*, holding a slender vase in which there is a lotus, is seen to the right (Figs. 25 and 26).[4] A further mixture of types and styles is noticeable in this connection, for the figure in Tōkyō resembles in form and drawing some of the arhats in the set of the Daitokuji that we have just discussed. A picture, identical with the Freer panel except for variations of color and minor details, exists in the Boston Museum.[5] It was once thought to be Chinese, but is now described as "Japanese, fourteenth century Kamakura." It is certainly Japanese, like the rest of the set it belongs to, all of the pictures of which are related rather intimately, as far as their designs go, to the set in the Freer that contains the picture we have been considering.[6] But one can find little reason, in the light of comparative study, to place the Boston pictures earlier than the first part of the sixteenth century, except the prejudice that imagined all Ashikaga pictures to be very degenerate renderings of earlier forms. Another Japanese picture of the same subject, in the Boston collection,[7] reverses the colors of the inner and outer robes and introduces many variations, including a kneeling attendant who plays with the spotted deer. It is one[8] of a set of fifteen and is ascribed to "early Kamakura." It is a fussy and badly drawn variant, perhaps even later than the picture just referred to. Still another variant of this theme is the Boston picture,[9] ascribed to "very early Kamakura," in which an attendant holds a fan and in which the pose of the arhat is

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[1] Probably Ajita.

[2] 04.305. Illustrated reversed in Fenollosa, vol. II, p. 16.

[3] For another illustration of the picture in the Tōkyō Art School, see Giles, *Pictorial Art*, ed. 1905, p. 108.

[4] A small album picture (ink on paper) representing the same arhat among great tree trunks broadly drawn, he and his deer finely, almost mincingly touched in, passed recently into a private collection in Brussels. It has been, without the slightest reason, ascribed to Li Lung-mien, illustrating again the fascination of a romantic name.

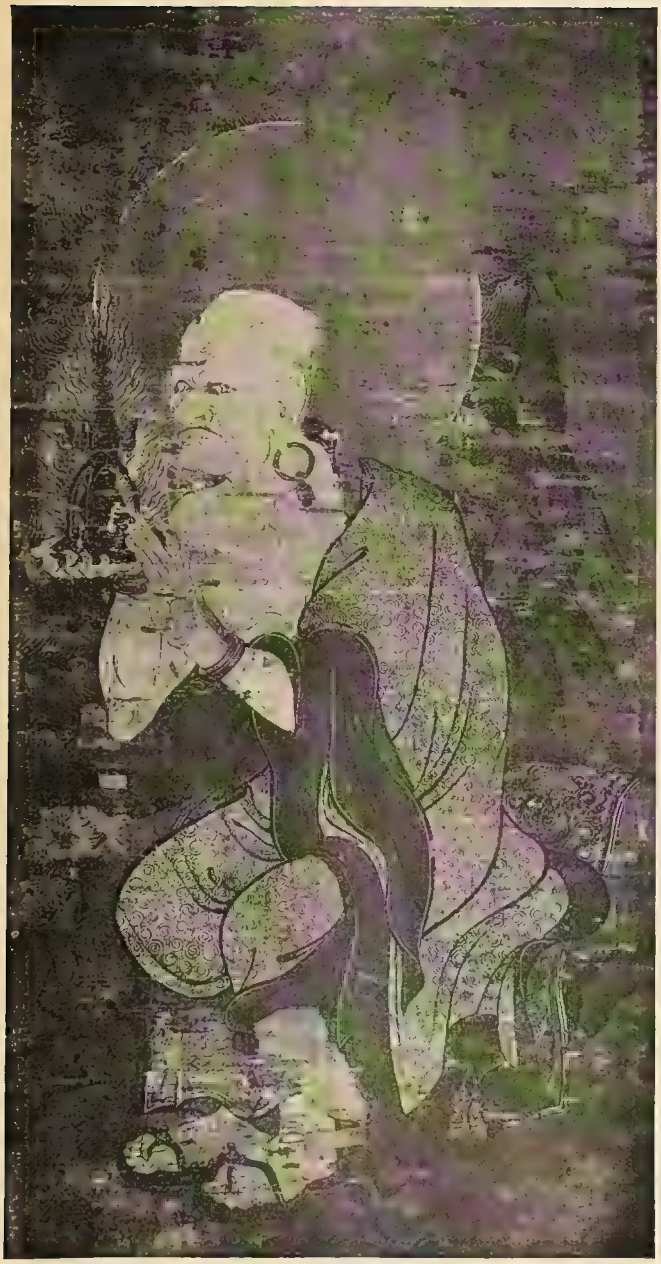
[5] 11.6114.

[6] 04.305.

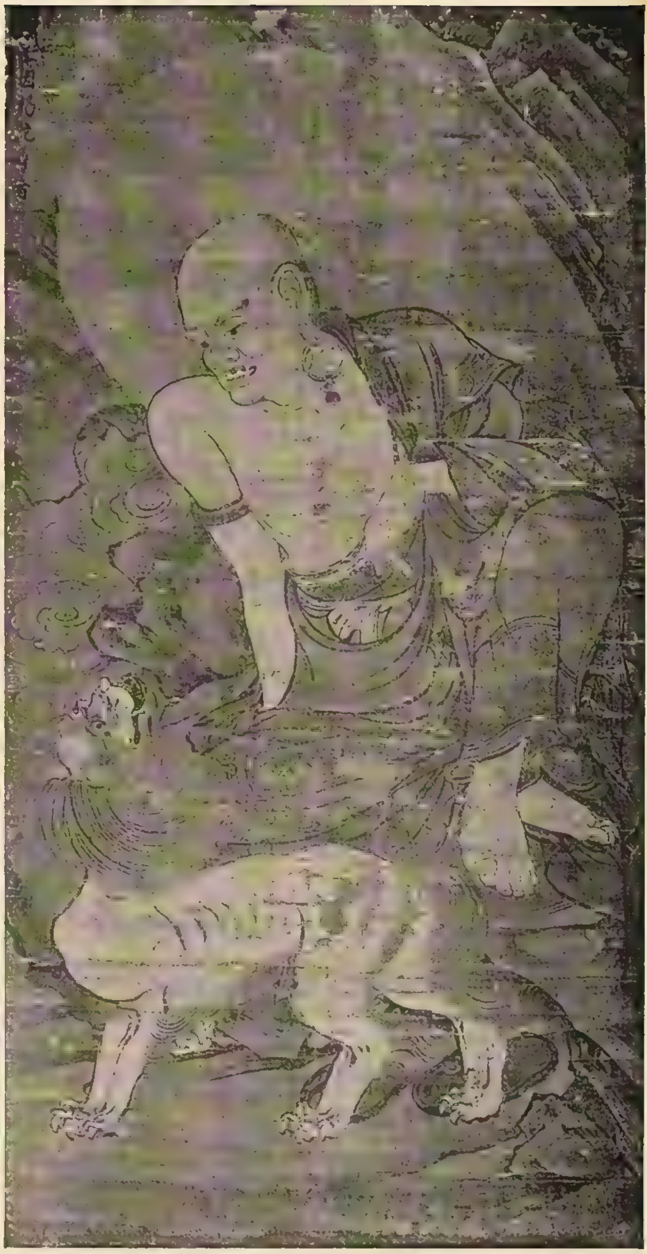
[7] 11.4044.

[8] See also 11.6190 of the same collection.

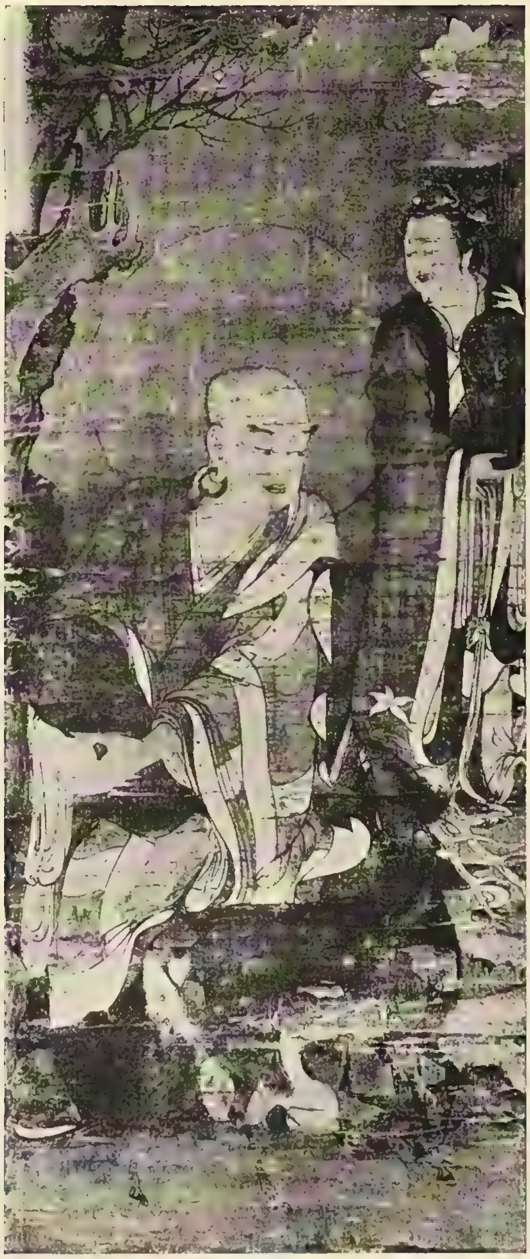
[9] 11.6195.



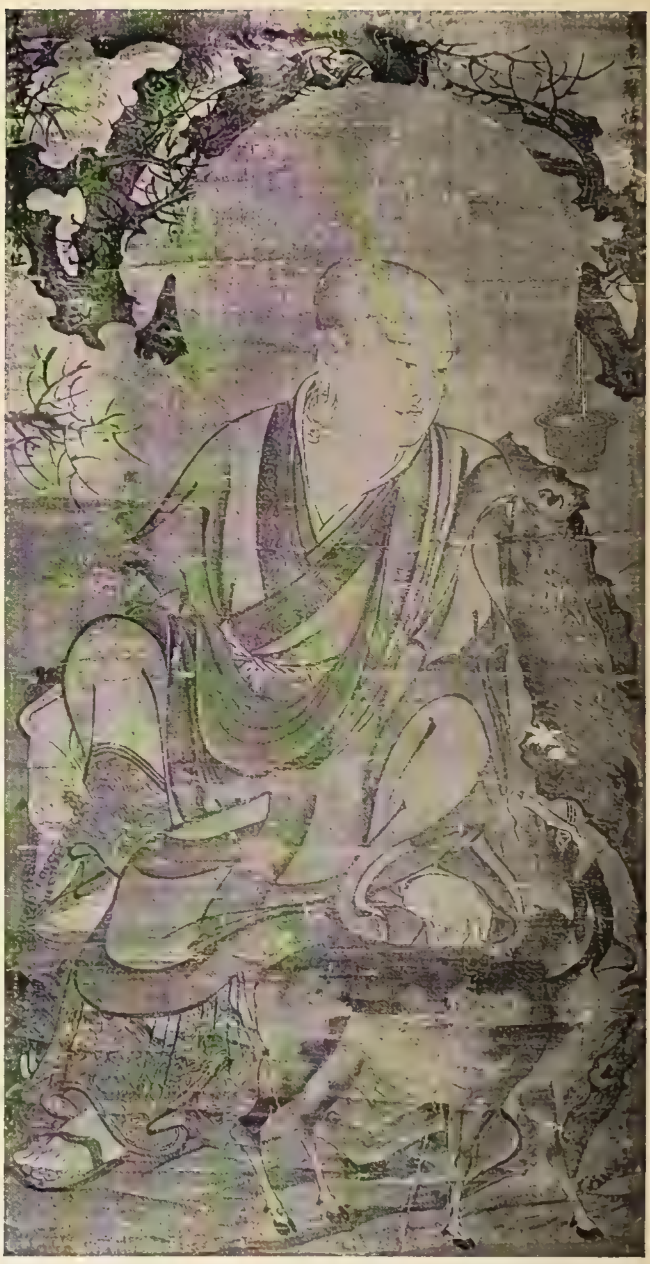
23. Arhat Gazing at a *Stupa*. Ascribed to Ming Period. Freer Gallery, Washington



24. Arhat Taming a Lion. Ascribed to Ming Period. Freer Gallery, Washington



25. Arhat to whom a Deer Offers a Flower.
Ascribed to Li Lung-mien.
Tōkyō Art School



26. Arhat to whom a Deer Offers a Flower.
Ascribed to Ming Period. Freer Gallery,
Washington

different. Behind his head a torn cloud movement. The dating of this picture and of the set it belongs to might be considerably modified. If we accept the Chinese numbers on the Freer set and those on that ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung in Boston, the composition in question should represent the eleventh arhat — Rāhula, according to Nandimitra. His domain was Priyangu. The arhat holding a *vajra* and a bell, in this same series at the Freer, resembles very closely a picture in Boston,[1] ascribed to the Kamakura period, as well as a kakemono in the Kawasaki Collection, at Kobe, which is ascribed to Takuma Shoga (1170–1200?), and is painted in full color. Only a kind of stiffness in the line, not very easy to detect, reveals the work of a Japanese hand. The beautiful tender power of the untrammeled ascetic and the intensity of understanding that brings him into intimate communion with even the fiercest of living things is recorded in a design that, magnificently balanced, fills with a deep composure its apportioned space (Fig. 24). Of it there are many replicas, among them a "Kamakura" picture in Boston[2] — one of a set that elsewhere we are inclined to date later. Another ruined version is in the British Museum where it is attributed to Chō Densu, but it is, of course, recent.[3] The spiritual intensity of another picture of this same Freer set,[4] representing the first arhat, seemingly Piṇḍola, sitting in a cave by the sea and gazing at a magic *stūpa* containing an image of Buddha, loses a good deal of its force in most Japanese versions[5] of the subject (Fig. 23).

Further repetitions of compositions in two different sets ascribed to the same artist can be studied in the kakemonos of an arhat seated by a stream and staring down at dragons playing over its surface, and in the pictures of an arhat seated in a chair attended by two priests and two worshippers, in Boston and in the Shōkokuji,[6] where the set to which they belong is attributed, on the basis of a signature, to Lu Hsin-chung of Shih-pan street, Chê-chiao in Ching-yüan-fu. The name of this place is said to be a South Sung or Yüan variant for Ning-pō-fu. From that fact, the deduction has been made that the artist, who is unknown in Chinese annals, although he is mentioned in the *Kundaikwan*, must have flourished in the thirteenth century[7] (Figs. 27–34).

Both these sets reflect a conception of the arhats which in spirit is not unlike that which underlies the Daitokuji kakemonos. They are, to be sure, in the present case, represented as sixteen in number, each on a separate scroll. For the most part, in form and feature they are rather infantile and lifeless; and in studying them, one is conscious of being in the presence of the dead ideals of well-cared-for priests living in powerful monasteries. The great and strange ascetics of the Takahashi or Kōdai sets, the terrible and austere solitaries of untrodden mountains, the grotesque and more than human visionaries of the earlier canon, have been superseded by sleek priests who go through a routine of pseudo-miracles according to a monkish interpretation of threadbare texts. From these pictures ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung the mystery has disappeared, and that sense of magic happenings among dells and waterfalls of mountain torrents which still haunts the composition of some of the Daitokuji scrolls.

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[1] 11.6218.

[2] 11.6217.

[3] 347 Japanese.

[4] 04.295.

[5] 11.6208.

[6] *Kokka*, vol. XXII and no. 255. Boston, nos. 11.6135 and 11.6138.

[7] *Kundaikwan*, 127. III. a; Kümmel, *Ostas. Zeit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 207. No. 11.6131 of the Boston series bears a similar inscription on the pine tree: "By brush of Lu Hsin-chung of Shih-pan Street, Ch‘e Bridge of Szŭ Ming." Another (11.6134) has the inscription: "Wan Shou temple of Shui Shang hills."

The likeness that the Lu Hsin kakemonos, now in Boston, bear to those representing arhats and kings of hell owned by the Chi-onin and the Shōkokuji, in Kyōto, when taken into consideration with the divergences between the two series in various minor details, seems to indicate that both are but mediocre versions of a lost prototype, of which the obscure Lu Hsin may have been the copyist who painted the first replicas introduced into Japan.[1] The probable intensity of draughtsmanship and ingenious arrangement of the unknown originals has left traces in only a few of the pictures now numbered in these sets of interrelated rolls. The wooden quality of the figures, the naïve and progressive humanizing of the subject material, and the presence of several minor details among the accessories, suggest that these copies were executed in Ming times, although they are, in many ways, superior to most Buddhist kakemonos usually assigned to that period. It is not even inconceivable that the Boston pictures ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung are early and highly imitative Japanese derivatives (Figs. 27–34).[2]

It is perhaps worth while to remember that the Japanese seem to have been, for a long time, in closer contact with Che-kiang than with any other part of China, and it is not unreasonable to imagine that numerous copies of Chinese pictures were made there for use in the islands.

In Japan the names of other obscure Chinese painters are associated with various Buddhist pictures. Among them the kakemonos in the Nanzenji are worthy of notice. One represents an arhat, seated profile left, holding his knee. Behind him, a lacquer table on which are a bronze and a lacquer box. An attendant stands to the right.[3] It is ascribed to Hsi-chin Chü-shih, thought

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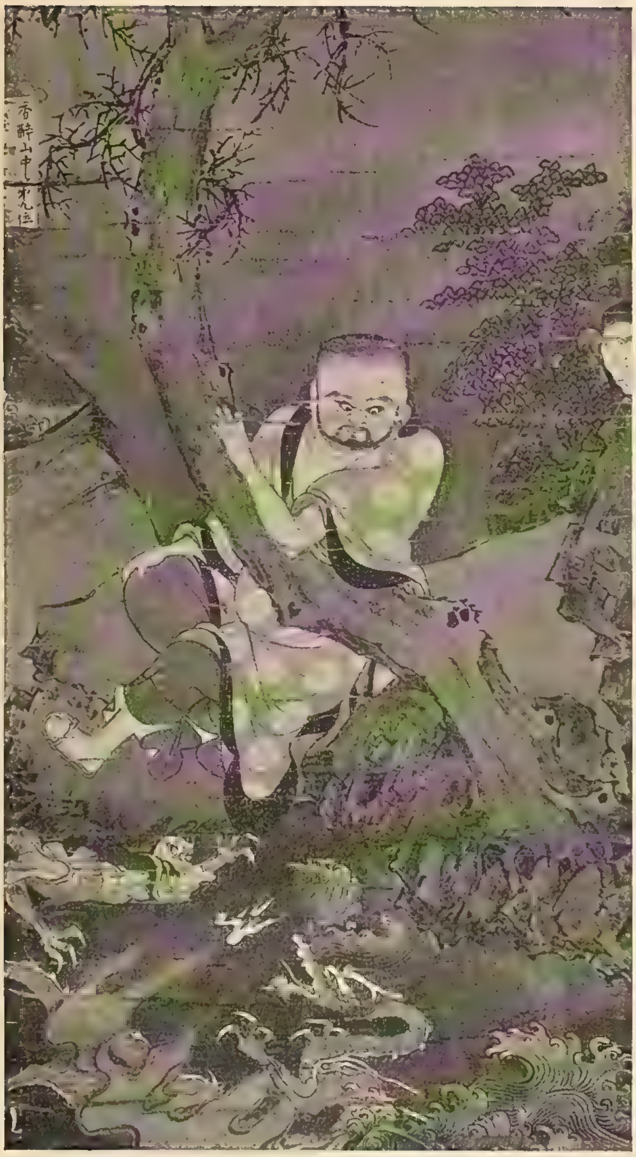
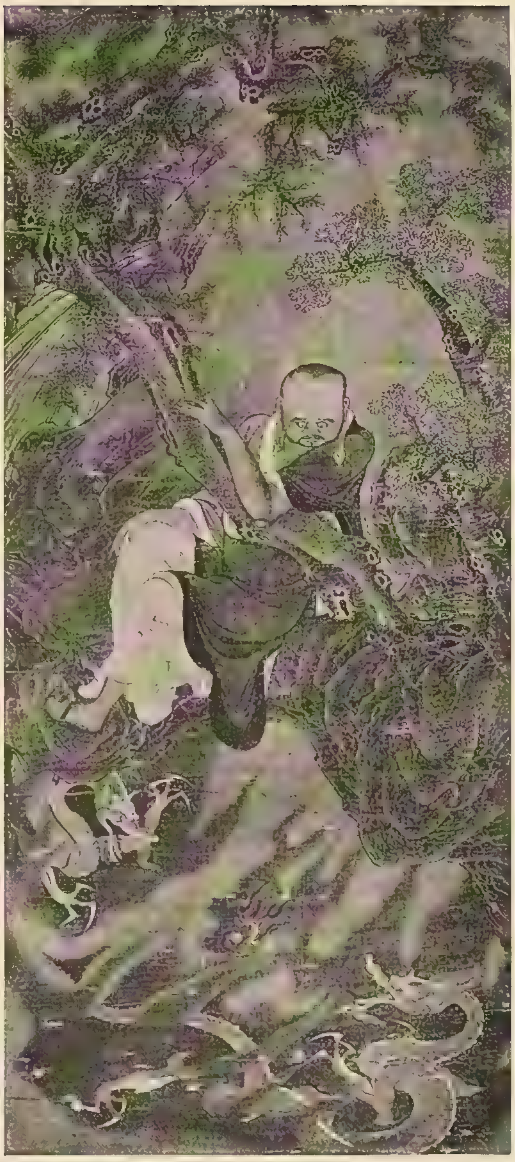
[1] See *Selected Relics*, vol. V, pls. 15 and 16, for two kakemonos of this set, one representing Subinda (?) with two attendants and two deer, in the grove of the Pāṇḍavas, and the other, Nāgasena seated, holding a censer, and accompanied by four attendants. Both are nearly identical with the two Boston pictures referred to. See also Kyōto Loan Exhibition Catalogue.

[2] Other pictures of a related series, apparently of Kamakura workmanship, at earliest, were once in the Hōryūji.

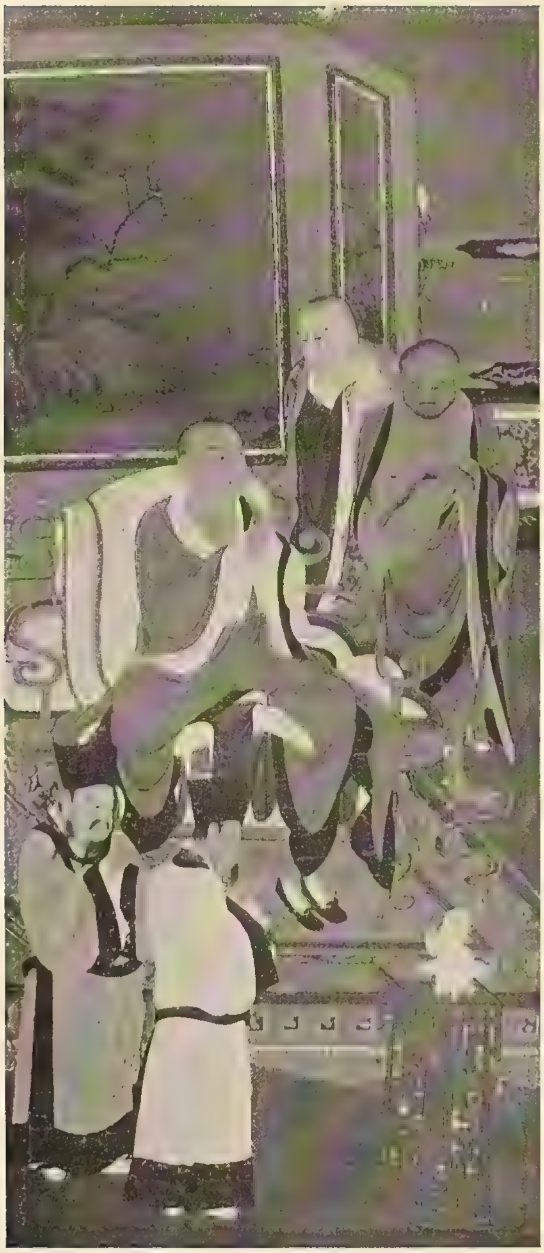
[3] *Kokka*, No. 203. The Nanzenji was a Zen temple of the Rinzai branch of the sect and had a Hall of Great Arhats. It was originally a palace, and was changed to a temple in 1290. It is said to have contained pictures of the five hundred arhats. There is perhaps a certain relation between the pictures discussed above and two pictures ascribed to the Takuma School, in Boston.



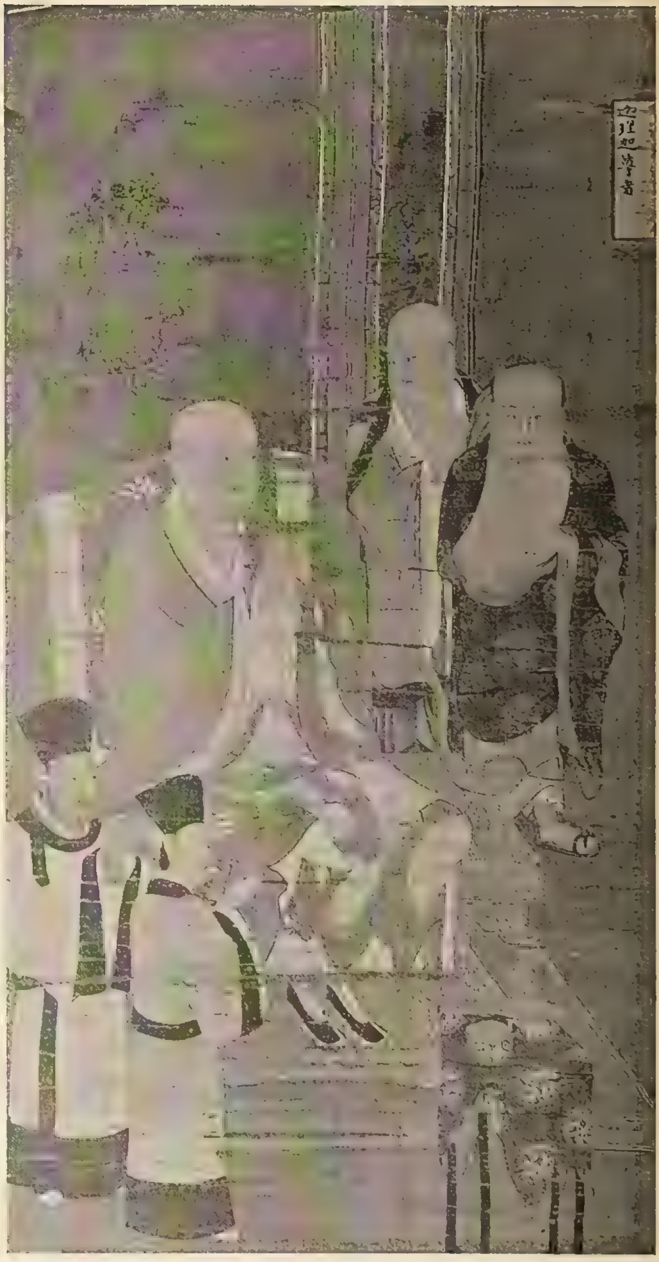
27. Arhat Taming Dragons. Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung. Boston Museum



28. Arhat Taming Dragons. Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung. Shōkokuji, Kyōto



29. Arhat with Worshippers and Attendants.
Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung.
Shōkokuji, Kyōto



30. Arhat with Worshippers and Attendants.
Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung.
Boston Museum

to be late thirteenth century but unknown except for mention of him in the *Kundaikwan.* Another picture, of a much later date, in the British Museum, is attributed to him.[1]

The Japanese, though they must have painted arhats as early as the Kamakura period, if not earlier, and in later times reproduced in considerable quantity different Chinese models, with varying degrees of tight accuracy or loose transcription, never brought to the interpretation of the theme the originality and power they showed in their early adaptations of Chinese and Korean sculpture, or in their Fujiwara versions of the demoniac deities of the Shingon sect.[2] Pictures such as the Boston kakemono of an arhat seated in a chair, while a *deva* offers him peaches, or that other for whom an attendant grinds medicine or ink, illustrate the point in question.[3] They are painted "in the style of the Takuma School," and reflect distantly Sung models, not without a suggestion of the puffy Ming conception of such figures and a tame meander of stereotyped line that indicates that they were made later than the fourteenth century. The former picture resembles, in subject material at least, a picture in the British Museum representing the arhat Bhadra with a tiger, seated on a rock under *sala* trees, and is practically identical with a picture in Boston of the same subject. Though ascribed to Sung, it is also a Japanese copy of a Ming prototype, and cannot be earlier than 1450. It is probably later.

The religious import of such figures had, by the time these pictures were painted, died out in oft-repeated perfunctory handling. Of similar manner and derivation, but better than these, are the arhat Panthaka[4] taming a dragon and the arhat Bhadra, now in Boston. Both are in a mixed technique of ink and body color on what is apparently a single-thread gauze, patched here and there, but not seriously damaged. Though assigned to the early fourteenth century, they seem to date from two centuries later. Since, however, we have no fixed criteria for judging the length of time over which these tardative formulas were used, except the evidence of changes in workmanship or treatment that a given kakemono reveals — changes at times too subtle to be easily explained to those who have not given much time to the study of this subject — it is evident that the date to which we assign such pictures has, in large measure, to be decided by a discrimination based upon a long familiarity with kindred pictures. For in the sleepy monasteries of half-paralyzed sects such pictures were probably ground out mechanically, in spite of declining patronage and changing religious fashions, until well on into the Tokugawa era; the probability is, indeed, turned almost into a certainty when one reflects that, as sects rose and fell in Japan, the supplanting sect did not discard or destroy the popular images of its less successful rival.

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[1] No. 106.

[2] Very interesting specimens of these pictures are now in Boston.

[3] 11.6210 and 11.6211.

[4] 11.6212 (Fig. 11).

In the kakemonos we have just been considering, the drawing of the tree and the conventionalized tiger are, clearly, Japanese, and the whole design gives one the sense of being derived from a pattern-book such as all monasteries had great numbers of in their treasuries. Most of these records of the diffusion of Buddhist art, invaluable as they would be for the history of the methods of temple workshops, and for the study of the confusion that attended the propagation of iconography, symbolism of color and the form of images in Japan, have perished, except for examples in the Boston Museum,[1] and those, more numerous and older, found in the Daigoji in Kyōto. It is also unfortunate for the progress of the study of Far Eastern art that the surviving specimens preserve almost, if not exclusively, formulas for the execution of pictures of the Shingon sect. They are drawn in a painstaking manner in ink on paper makimonos or, in some cases, on large sheets that served for tracing, in identical size. They bear written characters of the name of the deity, as well as summary directions for the use of color in various parts of the image. These deities are of the tantric kind and owe their forms more to Central Asian models than to Chinese prototypes.

Still another picture,[2] which shows how near the Japanese could come to Chinese models, if they wished to, is part of the Boston collection, where it was ascribed by Okakura to "Kamakura, late fourteenth century, showing Sung influence," although it must be considerably later. The head and the shoulders of the arhat represented have been rehandled and, in the whole figure, Ming conceptions of form transformed through Kano ideals are traceable. In the same collection another picture,[3] said to be a copy by Kano Osayoshi, is merely a version of a similar design.

The two kakemonos once in the Rokuwō-in, Kyōto, ascribed to Gesshu, and protraying the arhats Panthaka and Bhadra, are also examples of faithful Japanese Buddhist imitations of Chinese models.[4] They are stylistically late variants of what used to be considered the "Li Lung-mien" type, and they date apparently from the late fifteenth century, although supposed to be early Ashikaga.

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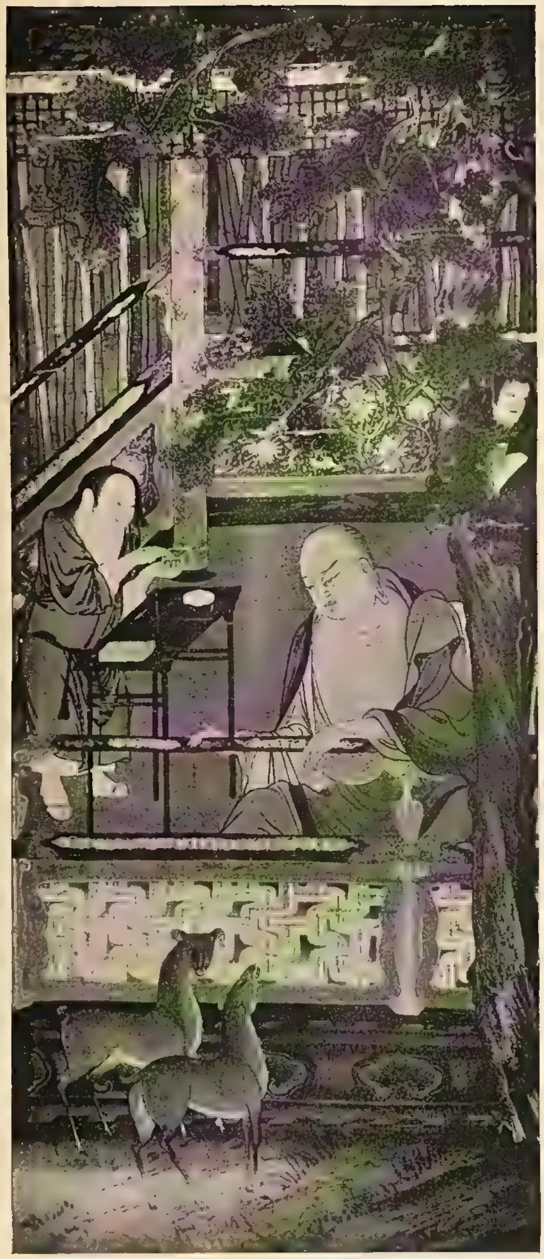
[1] Nos. 11.6230 and others. I have to thank Mr. Tomita for calling my attention to the pattern-books in the Daigoji and the Shingonji.

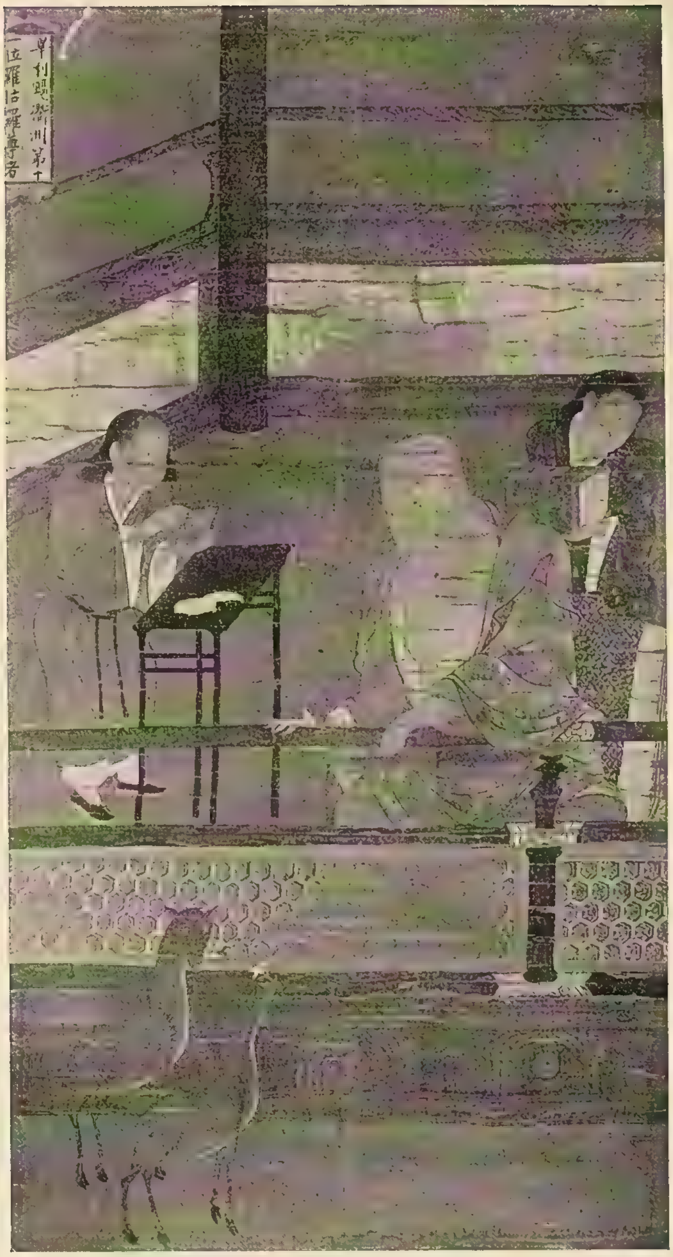
[2] 11.6209.

[3] 11.6122.

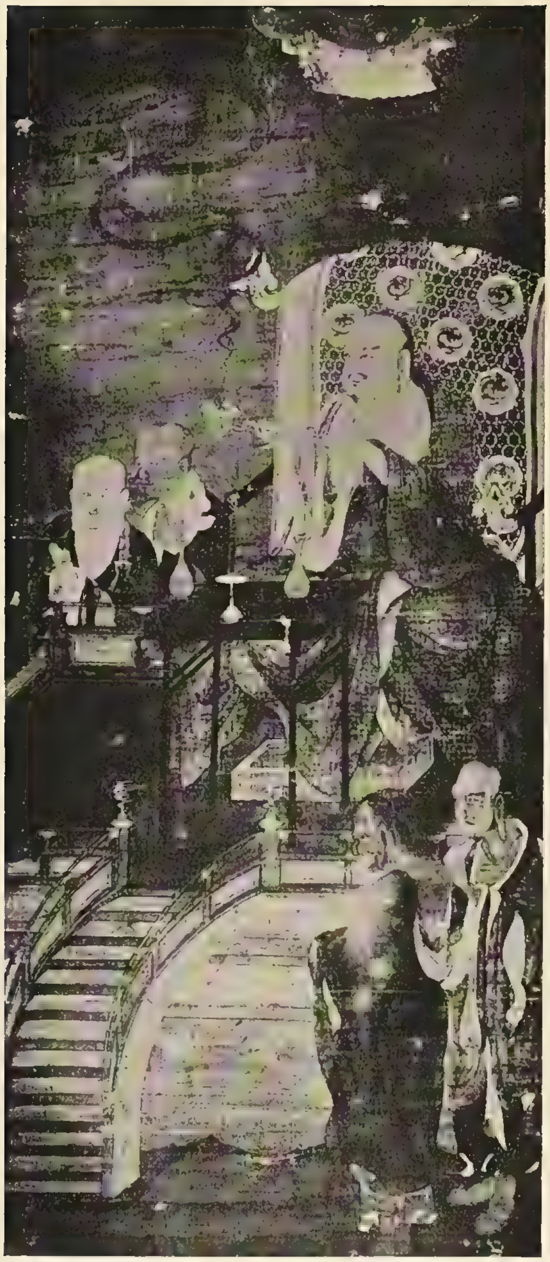
[4] *Kokka*, No. 205. An arhat crossing the sea, which illustrates, in its more obvious form, the relation of certain Ashikaga pictures of this kind to Ming originals, is reproduced in the *Kokka* (No. 377). It is believed, on the basis of an inscription it bears, to have belonged to the Mikenji, Nara, and now belongs to the Baron Kaisaku Morimura, Tōkyō. It is a pretty and perfunctory rendering of the model of a picture in the Zenrinji, Kyōto, which is thought to be "Takuma School, early fourteenth century," and does not seem to belong to the set of kakemonos in that temple which includes a Panthaka with two attendants. Cf. *Selected Relics*, vol. VII, pl. 25, for a reproduction.



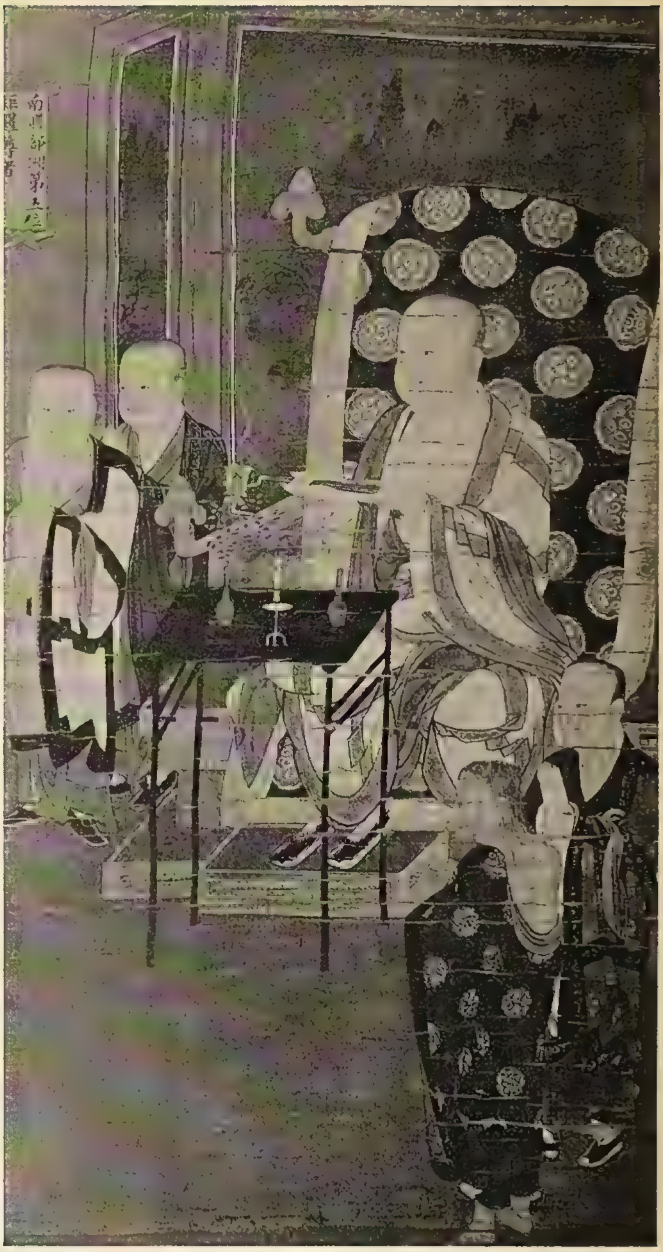
31. Arhat to whom Deer Offer a Flower.
Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung.
Shōkokuji, Kyōto


畢利颺瞿洲第十
一位羅怙羅尊者

32. Arhat to whom Deer Offer a Flower.
Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung.
Boston Museum



33. Arhat with Attendants. Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung. Shōkokuji, Kyōto


南贍部洲第五座
距羅尊者

34. Arhat with Attendants. Ascribed to Lu Hsin-chung. Boston Museum

Many other pictures of the kind we have been considering have been expertly produced, within the last twenty years, at Ōsaka and in other centres, to meet the occidental demand. For western collectors seem to have found kakemonos of arhats vaguely intelligible, because nearer their own forms of ideation. They have also been thought to be "decorative."

Besides the representations of arhats in color, by artists in one way or another connected with the Zen sect, to which we have already referred, there are numerous somewhat mushy drawings in India-ink, which are especially connected with the art of that branch of Buddhism. The arhat Vanavāsa, a snake coiled around him, sitting with closed eyes in a recess of the mountains, now in Baron Koyata Iwasaki's collection, in Tōkyō, is a typical specimen of this kind of work. It is ascribed, as might be expected, to Mu-ch'i (Mu-shi),[1] the thirteenth-century priest who is for the Japanese one of the chief exponents of the mystic school. Yoshimasa's pseudonym, Tenzan, appears as a seal on the picture, but from a reproduction no opinion with regard to its authenticity and date can be formed. In a vague way, it is similar, in pose and type, to a picture in the Freer,[2] both, like other pictures elsewhere, being interpretations of an earlier and well-known presentation of the subject.[3]

Other arhats, in a later development of the Zen tradition, are the album leaves once in the Ōbakuzan Mampukuji, chief temple of the Ōbaku sect in Uji, which were brought, it would seem, to Nagasaki in 1645. They are attributed to Hsüeh-an, better known as P'u-kuang, a contemporary of Chao Mēng-fu. Hsüeh-an is believed to have imitated Wēn T'ung to whom, incidentally, a fine makimono[4] is ascribed in the Metropolitan Museum, which may convey an idea of his manner. These leaves are drawn in an exceedingly epigrammatic kind of calligraphic line which, like modern free verse, is supposed to owe its rhythmic contour directly and intensely to the mood of the artist. It is a form of graphic vitalism which, breaking with consecrated formulas, gave rise to the literary school of painting which received additional impetus from the "Four Masters of the Yüan dynasty." Most pictures ascribed to painters of this school are, as the *Kokka*[5] remarks, impertinent forgeries.

Since many of the followers of the Mongol emperors had been converted to Lamaism before their conquest of China, it is natural that there should be in existence many pictures of arhats, generally believed to date from the Yüan dynasty, which are really more closely related to Mongolian or Tibetan painting than to Chinese. They are usually enlarged miniatures crowded with episodes and details, symbolic or ceremonial, and, from a naturalistic point of view, arbitrary. But in workmanship they are sometimes exceedingly minute and painstaking, recalling in their finical exactness of touch certain miniatures of the Mughal period. In color they are often brilliant; most of them, in fact, we should perhaps find barbaric, did they not come to us mellowed by smoke and age.

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[1] Another Vanavāsa ascribed to Mu-ch'i is illustrated in Fenollosa (vol. II, p. 49). A picture of the same arhat, in a dull and conventional technique, exists in the Boston Museum (Photo. D 417).

[2] 04.310.

[3] *Kokka*, No. 233.

[4] 19.165.

[5] No. 333.

The arhats were, of course, represented in many domains of Far Eastern art other than painting. They were frequently carved on "table screens" of jade or similar stones, where they are portrayed as living or meditating in clefts in the mountains. In the somewhat childish triviality of such figures we have a far-off echo of the monastic tradition which, as we have seen, was elaborated, if not created, in Sung times. A good example of work of this kind is ascribed to the Ch'ien Lung period in the Kawasaki catalogue.[1] Little figures of arhats, in crystal or semi-precious stones, seated in rockeries of turquoise matrix of a natural strangeness of shape, were a product of the rococo fancy of the Chinese of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such figures are said to have been in the collection of the late Empress Dowager. And, lastly, miniature figures of arhats, used as mere ornament, are found on many *netsuke*, *okimono* (bric-a-brac) and *tsuba*, or sword-guards, made during the same centuries by Japanese bronze casters and ivory carvers. Specimens of these exist in the Boston Museum and elsewhere. And arhats are also represented on the porcelain of the K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung periods, and in later imitations.

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[1] *Cho-shun Kwa-ku Kwan-sho*, vol. VI, pl. 46.

A QUANTITATIVE THEORY OF AESTHETIC VALUES

A QUANTITATIVE THEORY OF AESTHETIC VALUES

By ARTHUR POPE

Artists, and other persons who deal more especially with technical problems of artistic performance and design, are usually expected to leave the discussion of general aesthetic problems to their philosophical brethren. Too close a view of immediate necessities of production are supposed to unfit them for the broader outlook required in the consideration of the basic questions of life. It is with hesitation, therefore, that the writer ventures on the statement of a new theory of aesthetic values; and he certainly will find it necessary to couch this statement in more everyday language than is used in the fluent discourse of regular philosophical practitioners. In even the simplest consideration of design, however, it is necessary to have some assumptions on fundamental matters of experience; and it is possible that the formulation of aesthetic theory has been left too long in the hands of those, who, to be sure, have a wide outlook on existence, but at the same time have often too little judgment and understanding in the matters of design and taste which form the necessary premises for all general conclusions.

Almost since the beginning of time it has been recognized that the experience of beauty depends in some measure on the perception of order or organization. But there has often been an attempt to limit the extent of this dependence: to make questions of organization apply only to a part of aesthetic experience, or to limit the experience itself to mere perceptions of obvious formal organization, or what has been called "significant form." The present writer believes that order of some sort or other forms the basis for all aesthetic experience, using this term in a very comprehensive sense; and, further, that aesthetic value depends on quantity of emotionally appreciable order, even though there may never be any adequate means for measuring this precisely in most cases.

There are two obvious and common objections to the assumption that order has a fundamental part to play in all aesthetic experience. One of these has to do with the variations in our reaction to different kinds of order, and also to the same kind of order at different times. Another has to do with the question of monotony, which, although perfect as an instance of order, yet does not usually, even if it may occasionally, appeal to us in an emotional way to produce the thrill necessarily involved in what we call aesthetic experience. This objection was pointed out in an article appearing in the *Nation* some years ago, in review of Dr. Ross's well-known book, *A Theory* *of Pure Design*, and has, I think, never been satisfactorily answered.[1] Moreover, the prescription given by Dr. Ross, "to aim for order and hope for beauty," seems to many of us to take rather too much for granted; we want to know, to some extent at least, what kinds of order are likely to result in beauty.

As to the vagaries in our emotional reactions, much is to be accounted for on the basis of mere personal association and prejudice. Most of our simple preferences are so founded. We cannot enjoy looking at an object which we associate with some disagreeable event or with some person whom we dislike. Some of these preferences and prejudices are fairly universal, while others are individual. Some prejudices an intelligent person may to a considerable degree surmount, but any strong feeling of dislike is necessarily an obstacle in the path of aesthetic enjoyment, as any strong preference may help it along.[2] Mere preference, however, is not a part of aesthetic experience, but simply a condition of it. Psychologists have been tempted to give too much attention to this matter of personal preference, and thus to overlook essential questions of order and disorder which, in simple experimental examples, hardly involve likes and dislikes. Prejudice and association naturally play a stronger part in connection with judgments in the field of contemporary art than in that of the past; but in individual criticism of any sort they have always to be discounted to some extent.

In addition to variations due to personal prejudice, it is perfectly obvious that order frequently gives us no pleasure at all. We may experience the real thrill in the contemplation of an object one day, and the next day be left entirely unmoved by exactly the same object; and one person may find an object beautiful that is not at all so to his neighbor. A Beethoven symphony, for example, is very definitely organized; but an inexperienced person is apt to find it at first almost complete chaos, and only in small bits will it appeal to him as in any way apprehendable organization. For the most part — that is, if he is honest with himself — he thinks it dull and stupid, if not positively ugly. A great deal of experience is required before one can appreciate the orderly relations in many phrases of such a composition; and considerable study is needed to keep its different parts sufficiently in mind throughout the time required to perform it to understand the structure of the piece as a whole and to get any complete enjoyment from it. To the newspaper critic, on the other hand, the order in such a composition may finally become so obvious that it is boring. Repetitions have to him approached the point of monotony, and the thrill which he once got from it is no longer possible, unless perhaps by some change of emphasis, or by some unwonted perfection of performance, a great conductor or a fine orchestra is able to put fresh beauty into the work, or unless by good fortune the critic is himself refreshed by some long holiday of golf or fishing. He may, to be sure, write a perfectly proper criticism of the performance in any case; but it is cold judgment as he decides that, if he had been in the right frame of mind, he would have enjoyed something which he does not at all enjoy at the moment. It therefore usually happens that the occasional concert-goer gets more pleasure out of the old favorites, while the critics and the musicians call constantly for new compositions with which they are less familiar, and which present to them the elements of novelty and surprise.

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[1] Vol. lxxxiv, no. 2187 (May 30, 1907), pp. 506, 507.

[2] This is perhaps illustrated in the happy or sentimental ending always supposed to be necessary to appeal to the popular audience of the "movies." The disagreeableness of the tragic ending ruins the enjoyment of the evening for the untrained person, no matter how much the change to a happy ending may spoil the inevitable order and harmony of the play as a whole. To the trained person the bigger order of the design is the essential thing, and he may find the happy ending, though possibly more pleasing in a sentimental way, decidedly disorderly and inharmonious from the aesthetic point of view.

Much music is obvious in its organization and needs no study to be appreciated. Such music is usually called popular, in that it appeals to almost anyone on first hearing. Some of it may appeal even to trained musicians. Usually, however, popular music is likely to contain elements of disorder as well as the more obvious ones of order, or what order it has may be thin and feeble; and these elements of disorder or monotony, though not noticed by the casual listener at first, become more and more conspicuous as time goes on. After most popular tunes have reached the hurdy-gurdies, everyone is sick and tired of them. Except possibly for over-tones of sentimental association, they are a thing of the past. They become positively hideous. What many people find hard to understand is that the trained musician is likely to consider them mean and ugly things from the beginning; he appreciates at once their essential disorder, their triteness of musical expression, their thinness in design. He is of course the "high-brow." There is naturally much posing on the part of persons who pretend dislike for popular music, for there are times and places when music of a more obvious sort is perfectly appropriate; but the pain caused a sensitive ear by cheap music may be perfectly genuine.

The same distinction is to be made in the plastic and graphic arts between what is cheap and common or of only temporary interest, and that which, in its greater richness and perfection of organization, though more difficult for the untrained person to take in, is of more lasting value. Persons of little refinement of taste constantly choose the thing the order of which is easy to appreciate, but which often contains other elements to repel the trained connoisseur from the beginning and to lower it in artistic value to the general public as time goes on. Fine things are apt not to be sufficiently striking to appeal, especially at first, to persons of blunt perception or of uncultivated taste. As a matter of fact artistic judgment consists largely in the discrimination between those things which are temporary and those which are lasting in their appeal. It is a matter of superficiality and looseness of organization on the one hand, and of depth and finish on the other.

Complete monotony may, strictly speaking, be considered an example of perfect organization; but under ordinary circumstances it has no value from the point of view of aesthetic experience because it makes no appeal, it is too obvious to induce any emotional reaction. Under certain circumstances, nevertheless, it is possible that a person might, for some reason or other, work himself up into such a state of mind that he might get considerable satisfaction from the contemplation of sheer monotony, that is, of perfect uniformity. We are not ordinarily very much excited by the sight of a circle: it represents monotonous uniformity of curvature and obvious balance. But it is absolutely perfect in its organization; and if we could imagine an existence in which we were suddenly to come on the drawing of a circle for the first time, we should probably think it the most beautiful thing we had ever seen — we should get a real thrill from it. The delight which in the Renaissance was taken in the story of Giotto's circle (the artist is supposed to have drawn it when asked by the Pope for a specimen of his work) was no doubt due in part to the beauty attached to the nearly perfect order of the circle so drawn, as well as to the trained adaptation of eye, hand, and arm to the task. Persons of sensitive perception and trained taste may, indeed, derive considerable satisfaction from mere perfection of order, though it be not at all exciting off-hand. Such persons usually prefer simplicity of life and of surroundings, often to the utter astonishment and bewilderment of those who feel the need of violent contrasts and quantity of adornment. In a way they thus conserve, rather than dissipate, their energy for the occasions when it is worth while to let themselves go; and they maintain perhaps a more continuous flow of enjoyable experience, not in conflict with ordinary duties of life, than is otherwise possible.

Mysticism, moreover, offers a striking example of the emotional satisfaction to be derived from the idea of monotony. A Buddhist mystic conceives of an all-embracing monotony of nirvana, of non-existence; and it is in essence an aesthetic reaction which he experiences as he sits in motionless contemplation of the sinking of individuality in the vast ocean of uniformity. Is not this the basis for all mystical experience? It is usually called religious experience, but a sharp line can hardly be drawn between religious and aesthetic emotion. The difficulty with mysticism and asceticism as well as with aestheticism, in their extreme forms, is that they seem out of harmony with the ordinary conditions of life; in other words they contain an essential element of disorder which most of us cannot neglect.

Having seen that there is nothing incompatible between the idea of order as a basis for aesthetic experience and all the vagaries of our reactions to order, it is possible to proceed to a little more specific definition, but without attempting to go into detail as to kinds of order or as to their manifestation in different forms of art. The experience of beauty may be called an immediate emotional reaction to a perception of order, of organization, of harmonization of some sort, even though this emotional reaction cannot be definitely predicted under varying conditions. Ordinarily, when we contemplate what we call a beautiful object, we respond to the complex and subtle order of it without in any way analyzing it consciously at the moment; we appreciate the order of it emotionally when we are totally unable to comprehend it completely in a rational way. It is the very nature of most objects which we call beautiful to be so involved and abundant in their organization as to be entirely beyond complete logical analysis. Certain simple examples of design we may analyze completely, and others we may analyze far enough to realize the general nature of the whole, to see the general direction or directions in which their organization is tending; but order may enter into an object in so many different ways that it may take us a very long time to make even the beginning toward a rational analysis of a design which, in an emotional way, we appreciate immediately and completely. There is a genuine basis of truth in the well-known story of the elderly judge who advised his younger successor not to give any reasons for his decisions, inasmuch as his decisions would probably be right, but his reasons probably wrong. In questions of morals, as well as of justice, our feelings are frequently much more accurate than our reasoning, for they recognize all factors and all claims simultaneously, and thus to a considerable extent transcend cumbersome logical processes. Even more do our aesthetic activities transcend all others and enable us to attain a depth and richness of experience possible in no other way.

For the creation of the thrill, or what at times we might call the feeling of deep satisfaction, which we experience when we think of an object as beautiful, two things are ordinarily essential. The first is the perception of order. The second is the immediate appeal to our feeling which makes the order emotionally appreciable. The latter may be a matter of novelty, of complication, or it may be a matter of comparative disorder or contrast, without which we should have uninteresting monotony, but by means of which certain elements of order, which otherwise would not affect us, are made sensible to us and enhanced in value. To take a simple illustration, if we have in a given composition tones all of uniform gray, unvaried in lightness or darkness, the effect is monotonous and uninteresting. But if we introduce a variety of color into the tones, still keeping them at about the same degree of lightness and darkness, that uniformity of lightness and darkness suddenly becomes evident to us. We feel the uniformity in spite of the variation, and the order assumes a value for us which it did not have before. All significance in design is based on such a combination of order and of interest. It is not order in itself that counts, but only emotionally appreciable order. This is the meaning of the old idea of unity in variety.

We may go even farther, and say that the relative aesthetic value of different objects depends on the quantity of emotionally appreciable order which they manifest. When we study a great masterpiece of art, we find that it is almost inexhaustible in the multiplicity of its manifestations of order. Approached from different points of view — from that of space relations, involving measures, shapes, directions, and intervals, from that of tone relations, involving values, colors, and intensities, from that of content in the way of expressed or associated ideas, with regard to the arrangement of the whole, with regard to the grouping of smaller details — its order from each of these points of view is inconceivably manifold. In the case of the cheap work of art, there may be a good deal of obvious order in it, enhanced probably by sensational novelty or violent contrast, to make it interesting offhand; but when its meagre design ideas have once been appreciated, there is little left but mere accident and disorder, as compared with the exhaustiveness and finality of the masterpiece. In other words, the amount of appreciable order which it manifests is comparatively slight; it is shallow and weak in design.

This is to suggest a quantitative theory of aesthetic values, and that lower and higher forms of aesthetic enjoyment are possible. This latter seems actually to be the case. Almost no form of art is totally lacking in aesthetic significance, and no person completely wanting in appreciation; it is merely a matter of degree. Those who enjoy the higher forms live a richer and fuller life than those less sensitive in their perceptions or less trained in their taste. This does not necessarily imply that sophisticated persons, who think themselves "artistic," have always the greatest capacity for aesthetic experience, or that they are the soundest judges even of special kinds of art, for often the simply bred person, who seldom thinks consciously of art, has great capacity for the enjoyment of beauty both in nature and in art, and has good taste instinctively even though he may be unfamiliar with many forms of aesthetic expression. But with the tendency toward superficiality necessarily induced by the complexities of modern civilization, such persons are more and more rare, for the forces which tend to vitiate taste become ever more difficult to resist without knowledge and training.

It may be thought that this hypothesis puts too great a strain on our conception of order, and that there may even be beauty without order. Santayana, for instance, speaks of beauty of material as if it were independent of organization of any kind; but certainly it is the perfect harmony of tone and of measure and shape relations that appeals to us primarily in a piece of marble, and I believe that similar order will be found a basic element in all such beauty. The aesthetic element in the expression of ideas is also primarily a matter of orderly relation. This is where a theorist like Clive Bell limits the idea of organization too strictly. As ideas are expressed or suggested, there may be organization of these, which in a way is just as much a matter of "significant form" as the arrangement of lines and areas in the formal pattern. Professor Birkhoff, on the other hand, has, I believe, even gone so far as to suggest a mathematical formula for aesthetic value. But this would assume that all factors were constant, and that they could be considered in a rational way, and, except in simple examples, this is not possible. The proposal is nevertheless suggestive, and is directly in line with the idea of a quantitative theory.

One thing that has frequently stood in the way of sound conclusions in connection with the whole subject of aesthetics is the fact that attempts have been made to argue from examples which are altogether too complicated to be satisfactorily analyzed. The beauty of the human figure, for instance, is a hopeless starting-point, because there is such a multiplicity of factors entering into this particular problem. So pictures and works of sculpture ordinarily involve so many factors that anything like complete analysis is impossible, and they are likely to lead the aesthetician with small knowledge of art and possibly doubtful taste into all sorts of false conclusions. As a matter of fact, there is a great advantage in studying the whole problem of design in connection with the elemental factors that enter into the art of drawing and painting; for these factors and the application of the principles of order to them may be reduced to the simplest possible terms, and with them the various possibilities of design may be considered one or two at a time with comparatively little interference of extraneous circumstances. The quantitative theory of values makes at least a good working hypothesis, harmonizing with actual experience, when the aesthetic problem is approached in this way.

NEW STUDIES ON THE CATHEDRAL OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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By KENNETH JOHN CONANT

Struck by the meagre and inaccurate character of the graphic material on the church of Santiago, as compared with the wealth of literary source material and discussions, the writer determined to examine the building and, if possible, make drawings of it as it appeared in the Middle Ages. Everyone knows that relatively little of the original exterior is now visible, as a result of the changes and additions of the latter Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque periods; and since the disposition of later work often gives a clue to the arrangement of earlier, it seemed necessary to make a complete plan of the cathedral with the cloister buildings and the archepiscopal palace, from which, together with measurements of the accessible parts of the old structure, the other drawings could be derived. Graciously received by the late Archbishop, His Excellency the Most Reverend Doctor Lago González, and by the Very Reverend Dean of the Cathedral Chapter, I obtained their unreserved permission for the work proposed. Through my good friend, the Reverend Father Jesús Carro García, archaeologist, I obtained the permission of the local representative of the national Fine Arts administration. But without the good will and the many keys of the verger Antonio Yrago López in addition, my quest would have been unsuccessful.

The plan drawn up and presented here is the first complete plan to be made,[1] while some of the material in the accompanying elevations and sections (notably the towers of the transepts, the section and battlements of the nave, and the western approach) is here for the first time published. So far as I know, no complete elevations and sections of the cathedral have ever before appeared in print.

A document of peculiar interest in connection with the drawings is the twelfth-century description of the church in Book V of the so-called Codex of Calixtus II. It is frequently referred to by writers on Santiago, and the part concerning the church is here translated, with emendations suggested. The description is ascribed to a certain Chancellor Aymery Picaud, but is known only through copies, and the text is somewhat corrupt. That given here is from a copy in the cathedral archives as reproduced in Appendix II of the third volume of the *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, by the Canon Don Antonio López Ferreiro.

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[1] I am indebted to Father Carro García for the measurements of the palace yard and for help in taking other measurements.

This work justifies the expectations raised by the length of its title (eleven volumes, to 1823; about 5000 pages in all, containing a vast deal of information, but not indexed). It was published in Santiago, volume by volume, from 1898 to 1911, and is still obtainable from the Sacristan Mayor at the cathedral. In a leisurely way, it relates the history of the church and diocese, and its appendices contain a great many interesting old documents concerning them in the original Latin, Gallegan, and Spanish.

The description is dated between 1122 and 1135 on internal evidence.[1] In speaking of the completion of the cathedral it contradicts itself and suggests discussion. In Article xi, some of the constructions there enumerated are mentioned as unfinished, while in Article xviii the "last stone" is said to have been put in place forty-four years after the beginning — probably, therefore, in 1122. From a separate source [2] we learn that by 1124 or 1128 the "greater part" of the church was finished and the new cloister was to be undertaken. The "last stone" of Article xviii may thus be the last stone of some feature which made the building seem more or less complete, — such as the nave vault, the crossing vault, the works at the crossing after the removal of the old ninth- and eleventh-century church, the battlements, the new stone slab roof begun after 1117 — rather than the stone which actually brought the original plan to completion.

Building certainly did not stop at that time. The cloister projected in 1124 was under construction beginning in the next decade. Certain revenues [3] which were to go to the Bishop during the construction of the cathedral were not returned to the Abbot of Antealtares until 1152, although his protests and claims are heard of in the forties. The whole church was fortified during the twelfth century and later,[4] after the building was largely complete, and possibly as a result of the serious town insurrection of 1117; we hear of the *propugnaculum* of the cathedral in 1307. This *propugnaculum* was probably the original crossing tower of the cathedral, fortified, as its successor (begun in 1384 and still largely extant) was fortified.[5] The cathedral became a real

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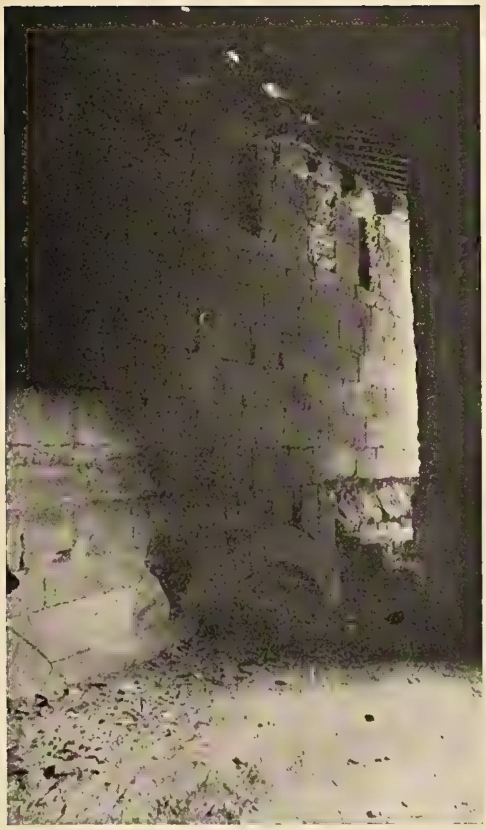
[1] Unless the middle part at least of Article xviii is an interpolation. These sentences mention events of from 1122 to 1137. But for them the description might be dated 1122. There is no hint of the death of the great Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, which occurred in 1140. The cloister, which was under construction in 1137, and the costly *retablo* of the high altar, added about the year 1135, are not mentioned. It is thought that the description was written after 1137, not in Santiago, but from notes made there before 1135. The *retablo* is described and dated in the *Historia Compostelana*, Bk. III, chap. xliv (*España Sagrada*, vol. XX, p. 566) and engraved from an old drawing in López Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 159. In volume IV, p. 242 *ff*. there is a discussion of the date of the Codex. He considers that the Codex is made up of material written at several different times, and gives a reference to Fita and Fernández-Guerra, *Recuerdos de un Viaje á Santiago de Galicia*, ch. x-xiv and app. iii.

[2] The *Historia Compostelana*, Bk. III, chap. i — in *España Sagrada*, vol. XX, p. 473.

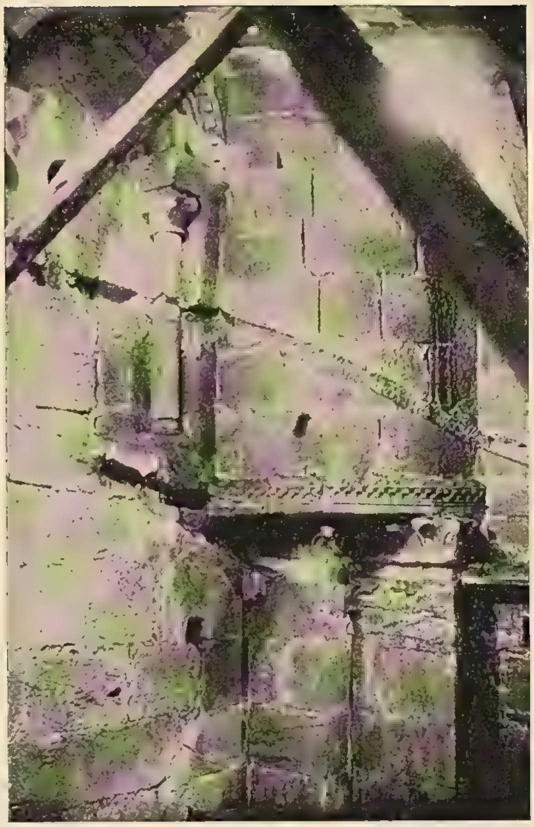
[3] According to the agreement of Gelmírez with the Abbot Fagildo, 1077. (López Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, app. p. 3.)

[4] Compare Plates II, III and IV, V.

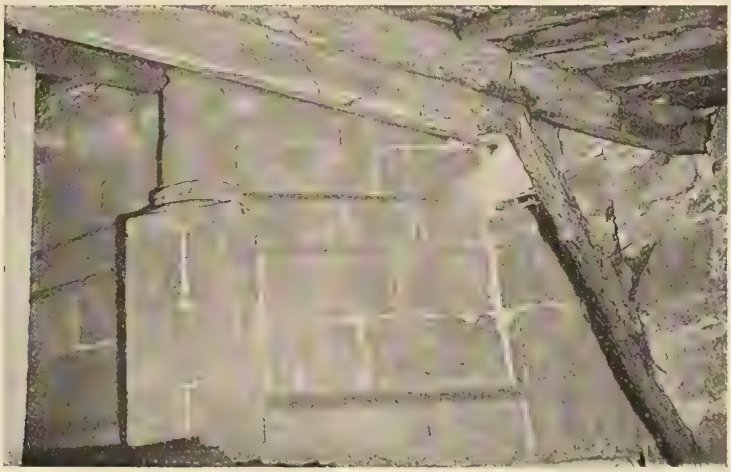
[5] Represented in the drawings. For a long time a *trébuchet*, capable of throwing large stones half-way across the town, was mounted on the cathedral.



1. Battlements on the South Side of the Nave. (Phot. Conant)



2. Tower at the South-West Angle of the South Transept. (Phot. Carro García)



3. Tower at Intersection of Nave and Transept (North-West Corner of South Transept) (Phot. Carro García)

citadel in the course of time; the establishment had, in addition to the nine towers of the church itself, several on the contiguous buildings to the north and south — thirteen or more in all. It withstood a siege of five months in the year 1462.

The material and workmanship of the parapet and battlements still visible, which are hardly distinguishable from the original work, as well as the pains taken to suppress the original cornice, suggest an early date, perhaps about 1120, for the *chemin de ronde* of the cathedral proper. (Fig. 1.) In assigning this date, and in considering the nave vaulting as complete, or nearly so, by this time, I do not ignore a bit of literary evidence insisted on by those who wish to date the church late — the notice that a great part of the church was covered by a wooden roof in 1117.[1] The roof was burned in the effort to overawe the bishop and Queen Urraca, who took refuge in the upper part of one of the western towers when the insurgent townspeople sacked the palace and made themselves masters of the church.[2] The sections of the nave (Plates VI and VII) will show how a small part of the vault has retained what I believe to be its original disposition; [3] how it was indeed covered with a wooden roof, and how that roof could be burned off without greatly damaging the building. Subsequently, most of the roof was brought up to a ridge by concrete fill and covered with long, thin, overlapping slabs, like those which show at each side below the timber roof (Plate VII). Several bays at the east of this portion never received slabs; the transepts and the east end, however, did. The modern roof of tile, dating perhaps from the eighteenth century, rests upon a layer of mortar, earth, and broken tile over the old sloping roof. Apparently an excess of earth was brought up to the roof at this time; it was thrown down into, and still largely blocks up, the winding stairway of the tower at the intersection of the nave and the south transept.

This tower and the corresponding one on the other side were the two towers *super singulas vites* mentioned in Article xi of Aymery's recital; the northern has quite disappeared and the southern has been cut off a few feet above the bases of the columns of its crowning stage (Fig. 3).[4] Only the outer quadrant in plan of this stage remains, the inner and back parts having been cut away. There is enough left, however, to suggest that the towers were originally somewhat as shown in Plate VII. It may be observed that there are columns, not intercolumniations, on the cardinal and diagonal axes, as on the crossing tower of Beaulieu (Corrèze) and the towers of Limoges.

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[1] *Historia Compostelana*, Bk. I, chap. cxiv; in *España Sagrada*, vol. XX, p. 229.

[2] Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 471 *ff.*; a spirited episode. The description in the *Compostelana* (*loc. cit.*) suggests a serious fire, involving more than one part of the church: *Ecclesia comburitur . . . Apostolicae Ecclesiae flamma surgit in altum, et circumquaque praebet horrendum spectaculum.*

[3] Resembling that of St.-Sernin at Toulouse.

[4] There is an offset in the masonry at the spring of the engaged arches which suggests that the construction may have been interrupted at that point.

Almost nothing is known of the original crossing tower. It may well have been one of the *adimplenda* when Aymery's description was written. He gives the inside measurements of the church in plan (the *status hominis* apparently about 5.59 feet) and they check up very well; but the same unit makes his interior height come out seventy-eight feet three inches, very considerably higher than the crown of the vault, which is now, in the middle of the nave, sixty-eight feet three inches above the modern pavement.[1] The thickness of the modern pavement plus vault sinkage amount to well over a foot. The original dimension may have been twelve and a half *status* (sixty-nine feet ten and one-half inches); there is here a discrepancy of over eight feet with Aymery's figure. But Aymery's dimension may have been taken at the crossing. Perhaps only the squinches were built when the description was written, and the opening had a flat wooden roof like the one which covered the partly finished *cimborio* at Barcelona until a few years ago; there is hardly room for a suitable dome in the dimension given.

The crossing vault originally planned was possibly a dome like that still extant in the castle chapel at Loarre, a more or less contemporary monument somewhat related to Santiago. Again, it is possible that the vault and tower were meant to be like the crossing at Beaulieu. This is a later building, but the arrangements of the apse clerestory, the flanking stair-turrets of the transept, and the interior, suggest that it may be inspired from, or a reduced copy of, Santiago. The crossing vault, like that at Loarre, allows space for four windows, but it is an octagonal cloister vault on squinches, the latter much shorter than the cardinal sides. It ought to be remarked that the puzzling squinches at Santiago could perfectly well have been made by throwing arches across in front of squinches like those at Beaulieu, thus forming the equilateral octagon on which the *cimborio* of 1384 rests, without otherwise disturbing that part of the construction very much.[2]

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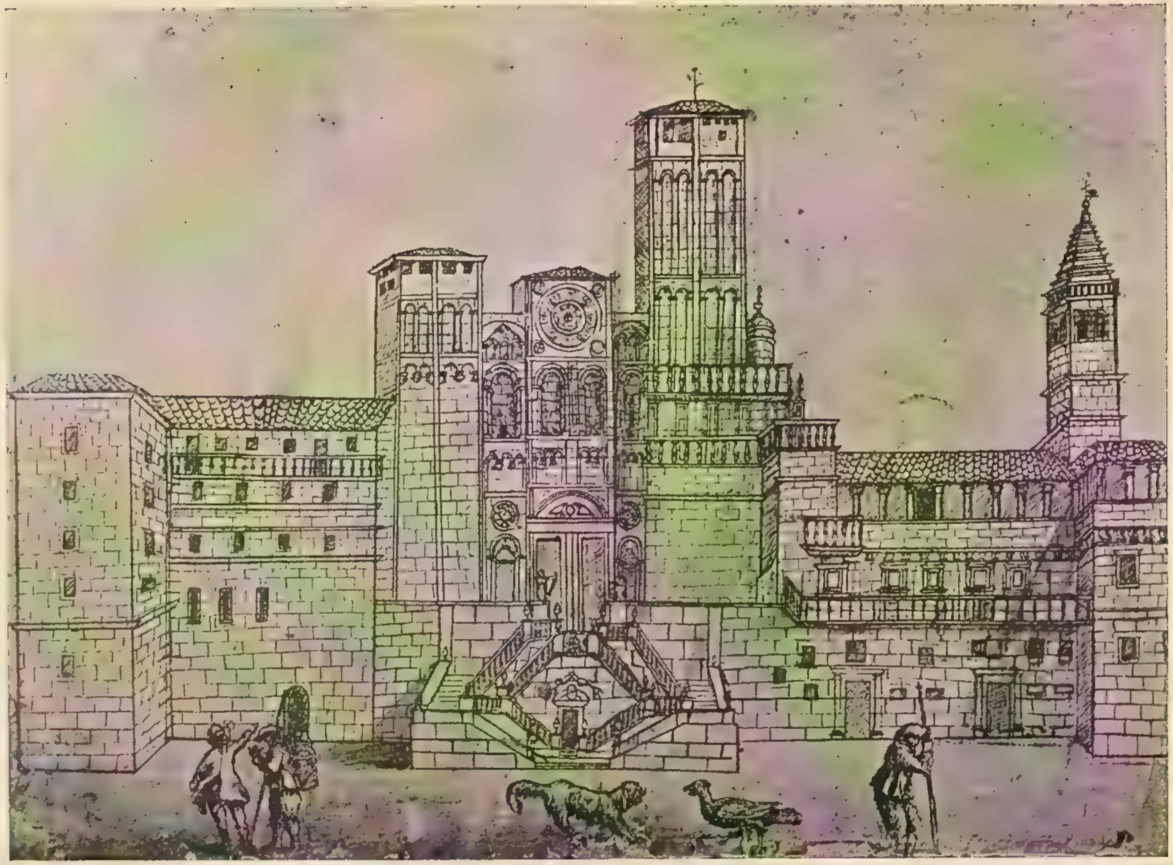
[1] To the under side of the web; I am indebted to the Reverend Father Carro García for this measurement.

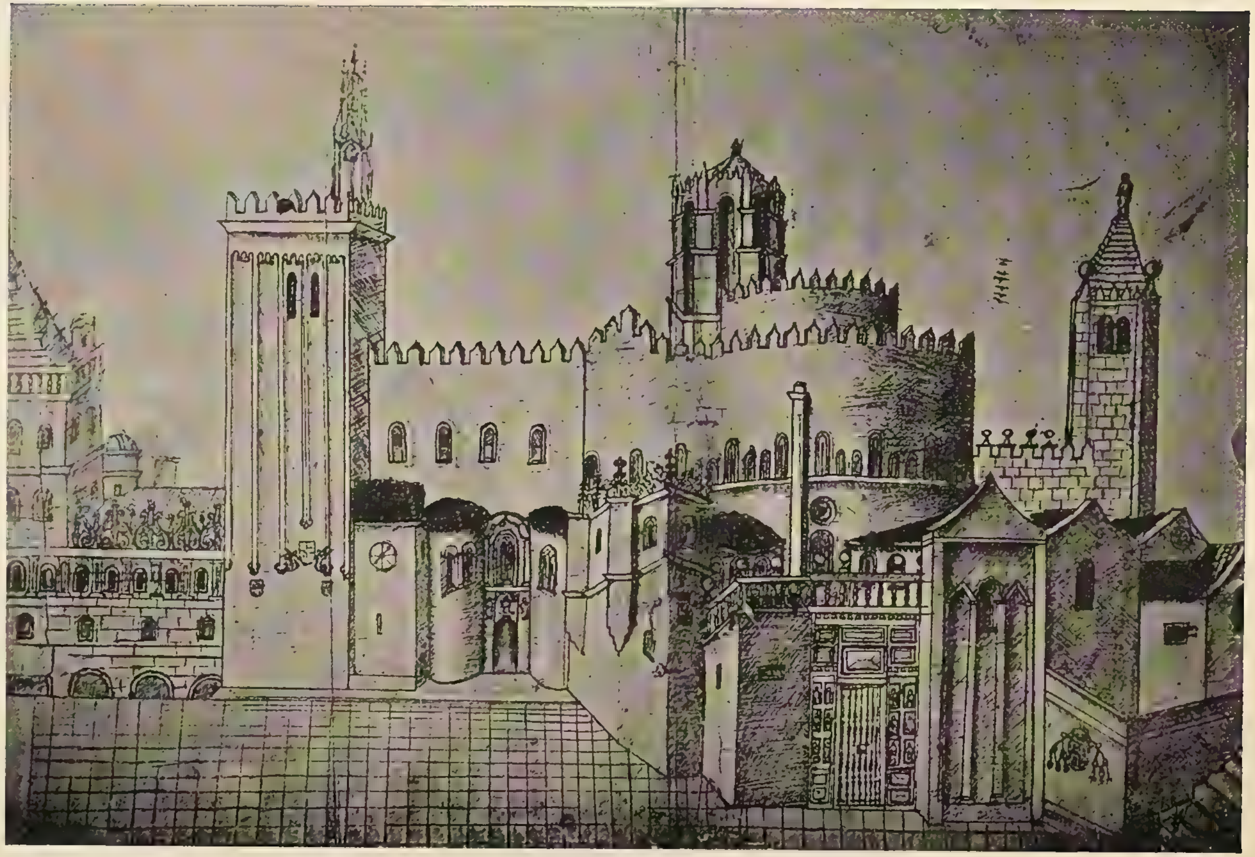
[2] Some cutting at the back of the arches would have been necessary. The epoch of construction of this crossing is difficult to determine. The *Historia Compostelana* says (Bk. I, chap. lxxviii, *España Sagrada*, vol. XX, p. 137) that the old church lay *intra immensam novae Ecclesiae capacitatem*. It was seen to be *quasi obumbraculum totius Ecclesiae* — "like a blot on the whole church." The *intra* and the *totius* here are all we have from which to make out whether the vaulting was complete when the older church was taken down. The old north nave wall would have had to be cut in five places to allow the construction of the piers. This could hardly have been done if the old church had been vaulted, but it nowhere appears that this was the case.

The four figures above the great piers are hard to date by their style. It may be that they were introduced after the completion of the vaulting, or it may be that they were already there, and were employed when the corbels above them were put in place to carry the machinery of the *botafumeiro*, heard of in the fourteenth century (probably wooden beams to begin with). They are not referred to by Aymery. Without these figures or the beams supporting the *botafumeiro*, the middle shaft of the great piers would have no work to do. But this is the case with the corresponding shafts where the great piers join the walls, and with all the corner shafts in the aisles. All of these shafts stop at the impost without a rib above.

It seems likely that the original *cimborio* was less boldly constructed and admitted less light than the present one, since it was fitted up as a citadel. The tall windows at the east of the new lantern and the smaller ones at the



4. The West Front of the Cathedral, about 1660; from an old Drawing in the Museum of the Sociedad Económica, Santiago. (Phot. Carro García)



5. The East End of the Cathedral, about 1660; from an old Drawing in the Museum of the Sociedad Económica, Santiago. (Phot. Carro García)

Another possibility is that the crossing tower was a lantern, square, like that of the Sé Velha at Coïmbra, another later church which presents certain analogies with Santiago, or octagonal, like that at Conques. Professor Porter has found precedent in Armenia for the squinches at Conques, and Armenian influence is far from impossible at Santiago, for the Armenians are said to have had a hospital there.[1] St. James was an important saint in Armenia; pilgrims from there to Santiago are heard of at various times, including a number of prelates in the thirteenth century and a king in the fourteenth.[2] It is fairly clear that the cathedral is built in the Armenian way, of rubble concrete faced with excellent ashlar; [3] possibly here is one of the contracts so eagerly sought since the publication of Strzygowski's disconcerting book in 1918.

In addition to the three towers mentioned above, there were probably four turrets, one at each of the salient angles of the transept. Part of one of these is preserved (Fig. 2). It presents manifest analogies with those of the Poitevin school.[4] It was almost certainly a stair turret. Its companion above the Platerías was embedded in the huge *cubo* built about 1310 as part of the defensive system of the cathedral (the Torre de la Trinidad, or del Reloj). Part of the stairway leading from the gallery may be original. It is difficult to make out what the eastern side of this round turret and the corresponding one on the north transept were like, because the former is hidden in the solid masonry, while the latter made way for another tower (probably the Torre del Angel, 1258 or 1321 [5]) which was in its turn taken down when the transept façade was modernized. At this time the fourth turret would also have disappeared. These towers are presented in the drawings with reserves, but are not doubtful.

The west front was incomplete all through the Middle Ages. The north tower had been carried up one stage above the nave cornice line, the south tower, two stages, as shown in the old drawing (Fig. 4). This drawing does not show the pilaster-strip decoration quite correctly, and it is proportionately very much too narrow.[6] The lower line of the modern architrave of the second stage corresponds to the old impost level; the vertical bands are the

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west all appear to be original, and suggest that while the lighting of the sanctuary had been satisfactory, that of the *coro* had not.

[1] Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 69, 70. Early beginnings are claimed for this hospital.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 301.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 27, 28, and my own observation in two or three places where the inner construction seems to be exposed.

[4] There are two varieties on Notre Dame la Grande, at Poitiers (later). Compare also the turrets at Fromistá and at St.-Nicholas, Caen, which are a little earlier than Santiago. Those at Orense are doubtless, like the west portal, a reflection of Santiago.

[5] Shown in the old drawing of the east end, Fig. 5.

[6] The cross on the south tower was about 160 feet from the ground; the frontage represented measures about 400 feet — two and a half times as much. There are also evident faults in the other drawing.

old pilaster strips modified. The sculptured capitals which remain are early twelfth-century work.

Whether or not the west portal was complete when Aymery wrote his description is a delicate question. It has been observed that the article devoted to it is less explicit than the others, which suggests that the author was not able to examine the portal as closely as he did the other two. Miss King has thought that this was because the entrance was at the lower level,[1] so that the portal proper was visible only from a distance (below) or at a sharp angle (on the terrace above). Some have doubted whether it ever existed at all because of the elaborate Pórtico de la Gloria, undertaken so soon after. I am inclined to believe that the west façade was *de obra* when the description was written, and that the portal was incomplete or covered with scaffolding on account of works going on above.

While this conclusion might be drawn from the fact that Aymery does not give the outside measurement here,[2] it is rather the enumeration of windows which inclines me to this view. The text is obviously corrupt,[3] and the numbers given in it have been copied without sufficient consideration by writers on Santiago. Aymery gives sixty-three as the number of "glazed windows in the basilica itself," five in the choir, and forty-three in the triforium ("palace"), so we are told that the church had one hundred and eleven windows. Referring to the plan, we find indicated in the church proper, according to the usual way of calculating:

16	along the side walls of the two nave aisles;
2	at the west end of these aisles, later made into doors (possibly also two bull's-eyes);
18	in the aisles of the two transepts;
10	in the ambulatory, including four bull's-eyes;
27	in the nine chapels (the blocked fourth window of the Salvador Chapel is later);
5	in the apse vault;
3	in the end walls of the three great naves;
81	(not all extant).

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[1] *Way of St James*, vol. III, pp. 54, 66, 489. Miss King conjectures a stairway leading up under the nave to the altar. A burial vault (for archbishops) has been excavated at the crossing, apparently without showing any traces of such a stair. There were in fact two narrow stairways (shown on the plan) leading up to the nave from the chapel below; one is now blocked at both ends, the other at the upper end. I was inclined to think that the entrance might have been through the chapel and up by way of stairs in the western towers, but every indication points against this. The work in the chapel below seems to indicate that the platform in front of the west portal has been nearly as large as the present one since early in the twelfth century. It was probably arranged in front somewhat like the porch of the cathedral of Trani in its present condition, or like the more elaborate modern example at Lourdes. (See Plate I.) The present tunnel-like entrance replaced a large arched opening (López Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 35). Plan in Lampérez, *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española*, vol. I, p. 437. The arrangement proposed for the mediaeval approach was arrived at by study of the plan and of the rather scanty indications in the masonry of the crypt-chapel, which is largely old.

[2] The 53 *status* reach only as far as the inner west wall.

[3] *Fenestre uero uitree que sunt in eadem basilica sexaginta et tres et numero habentur. Ad unumquodque habentur. In celum uero basilice circa bti. Iacobi altare quod est in corona tres altare quinque fenestre habentur unde apostolicum altare ualde perlustiatur. In palacio uero sursum quadraginta et tres numero habentur fenestre.* (Article iv.)

The text gives thirteen less. Likewise, there are clearly indicated at least fifty-seven windows in the triforium, whereas the text gives forty-three, fourteen too few. Besides, there are signs (not entirely certain) of two additional windows in the north transept gable; there may have been a similar pair at the south and west, while four or eight windows ought to be assigned to the crossing. This might be taken to prove that the body of the church was unfinished when Aymery wrote. But the data may be arranged as follows:

north aisle wall	8
south aisle wall	8
north transeptal aisles	9
south transeptal aisles	9
ambulatory	10
sanctuary	5
	49
west walls of nave aisles	2 or 4
	51 or 53
transept gables	2, 4, or 6
	53, 55, 57, or 59
cimborio, probably	4 or 8
	57, 59, 61, 63, 65, or 67
west end of nave, consequently	6, 4, 2, 0
Total for the church proper (as given in the description)	63

An objection may be raised to the even number of windows proposed for the west wall. The number would be odd if one of the aisle windows had already been blocked in Aymery's day. The old Canónica, which adjoined the cathedral near number 24 on the plan, the connection between the palace and the gallery, above number 6 (known to have existed in the twelfth century), or some adventitious adjoining structure, might easily account for this window.

Another way to avoid assigning an even number of windows to the west wall is to count the five windows of the sanctuary as additional to those in the church proper ("*in eadem basilica*"). The total would then be sixty-eight, which would call for an odd number of windows in the west wall unless an odd number of windows had already been blocked up. The possibilities are admittedly somewhat disconcerting here, because so numerous, but the method is evidently correct. It may be noted that Aymery does not remark on the windows of the crossing vault. This should not be taken as indicating, necessarily, that they did not exist, for he does not refer to those in the end walls of the transepts or nave, where openings doubtless existed. These omissions may be considered as of a different kind from the omission of the *retablo* from the description of the high altar, of which a minute description is given.

The description assigns forty-three windows to the triforium, where there are at present signs of fifty-seven or fifty-eight openings, a discrepancy of fourteen or fifteen.[1] This could be used as an argument that the triforium had not yet been built over the six or seven westernmost bays of the nave; there is, moreover, a break at the seventh bay, above A and G on the plan; it is here that the axis of the nave begins to bend. Insistence on this line of argument, however, must be in the face of the evidence back of the general belief that the nave was practically finished in 1124. A plausible way out of the difficulty is to read *quinquaginta* for *quadraginta* in the text (obviously a careless copy) and consider that the upper stage of the west façade was incomplete.[2] The number of fifty-three lights does not allow for any windows lighting the triforium gallery at the west end. Possibly the triforium arches at the end of the nave were glazed temporarily, and so appeared in Aymery's count as two (or four) windows of the church proper. The total number of windows in the church may quite reasonably be put at 63 (the church proper), plus 27 (the chapels), plus 57 (the triforium), with perhaps five additional (the sanctuary) — 147 or 152 in all; four less in Aymery's day.

Judging by the transepts, we should expect the original design of the west front to call for a terrace roof over the triforium, with one or more lights in the gable wall rising at the back of it (that is, on the eastern side). The original west front probably had four arched openings [3] at the platform level and four windows above in the triforium stage. I consider it quite likely that the triforium stage survived the rebuilding of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when, as is well known, the Gloria Portal and the great rose window were built. The great arch then opened at the entrance and the large "espejo" above are shown in the old drawing (Fig. 4).[4] The pilaster strip between fits so awkwardly with a three-part design, and so logically with a four-part design, that it is hard not to believe that it harks back to the latter. If this triforium stage is conceded to be original, the gables above at either side may be original, as well. The great rose perhaps displaced a third gable. The whole composition between the towers would then be, in a general way, much like the west front at Le-Puy-en-Velay, as Miss King has suggested. But the rebuilt front, as shown in Plate I, differed considerably.

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[1] The doubtful one is just north of the main longitudinal axis in the apse triforium. It may have been blocked up when the apse was fortified; either this or the communication with the palace, above number 6, would account for the odd window. It is possible that there was a window in the vertical wall over each end of the semicircular gallery, where modern windows now exist; if so, the discrepancy might be sixteen or seventeen windows.

[2] It is altogether worthy of note that there are signs of an interruption in construction on the north and south walls of the crypt-chapel nave. There are slight differences of design toward the west. These indications that the western part was built later fortify the conclusion reached above.

[3] Giving upon a covered porch, at the back of which was the double portal mentioned by Aymery, with a window or windows to each side. It is well known that the Pórtico de la Gloria had two lateral exterior doorways (Plate I), and it may be assumed that these were inherited from the earlier front. There is a curious pair of ramping windows in the west wall of the chapel nave below, under this pair of openings. They take their light in the risers of the steps above. The steps are modern, but the embrasures have mason's marks on them and appear to be old.

[4] Until 1529 the cathedral had never been closed at all under normal circumstances; it was in 1521 that the inner constructions of the great arch were added, so that doors might be hung. López Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 56, and app., p. 40 (the contract).

I do not wish to conclude this article without making some comment on the question of origins. The exterior of the church which careless writers refer to as "an exact copy of St.-Sernin at Toulouse" had manifestly a very different air about it, even before it was fortified, than that celebrated and beautiful church. There may be two opinions as to whether the venerable pile at Santiago was beautiful, but it was certainly interesting and impressive; and it had in the Middle Ages, as it has to-day, an unmistakably Spanish feeling. The sources of inspiration were very much more diverse at Santiago than at St.-Sernin. These sources were largely French, but the result of their combination has the cachet we think of as Spanish. For these two reasons, I am prepared to believe that the architect Bernardus *senex* was a Spaniard, and to follow the learned Canon López Ferreiro in identifying him with the Gelmírez' treasurer Bernardo, a very accomplished man of Spanish family, and not a Frenchman, as his name suggests.[1]

Whether or not Bernardo designed the east end of the church does not, in so many words, appear, though it is likely. This apse with its five chapels is artistically the most original part of the church — much more so than the part west of these chapels. It has no close counterpart elsewhere,[2] though the elements of which it is composed can be found scattered in Normandy, the West of France, Velay, the Nièvre, Auvergne, Castile, Catalonia, and Lombardy, not to speak of oriental lands. The very exceptional eastern chapel[3] has capitals inscribed "*tempore Didaci,*[4] *regnante Adefonso,*" [5] which implies that the cathedral was ideated and designed in the early seventies of the eleventh century; in August, 1077, final arrangements were made concerning its intrusion into the precincts of the Antealtares Monastery.[6] But there is a marked change in the design of the triforium, both interior and exterior, at the line Ψ–Ψ, just west of the polygonal chapels on the plan.[1] A break in construction, as well, seems to be indicated by the long vertical joint, shaped like an inverted J, to be observed near the right-hand margin just half way up, in Fig. 6.[2] The work west of this line is somewhat more accomplished (though still of very diverse inspiration), and more like south-French work of about 1100 and later. This suggests an interruption in the work.

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[1] López Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 37; app., p. 21; vol. IV, p. 172.

[2] The apse has a general resemblance to that of St.-Hilaire at Poitiers and those at Melle, but the polygonal clerestory with its twisted columns at the angles, its cusped arches, and its windows penetrating the vault, is quite exceptional. The nine absidoles were of four different types (exteriorly square ended, polygonal, and round, two varieties).

[3] Invariably given wrong on plans heretofore; its square plan probably due to its resting on the foundations of its predecessor, a small church of the Asturian style. This latter is shown in López Ferreiro (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 186) with an apse, but, as Lampérez says in discussing it (*Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española*, vol. I, p. 308), the probabilities are altogether the other way.

[4] Diego Peláez, Bishop 1071 — uncanonically deposed 1088.

[5] Alfonso VI, King 1072 — †1109.

[6] The so-called Accord with San Fagildo (López Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, app., p. 3).

In this connection, it is well to recall that the Bishop Don Diego Peláez was ousted from his see in 1088 on trumped-up charges, possibly because he resisted the exactions of the king. The church then had a very trying ten or fifteen years, including an interdict and the terms of two unscrupulous administrators. "*Ipse omnia sine intermissione conflaturum ac rapturum sese praesumpserat,*" says the chronicle of one of them. The great Diego Gelmírez, administrator for a period in 1093–94, was reappointed a year or two later, was chosen Bishop in 1100,[3] and became Archbishop in 1120. He was a francophile, visited France, and encouraged his clergy to study there. By him, in 1102, eight of the apsidal chapels were dedicated. Admitting that the transepts were well advanced under Don Diego Peláez,[4] it is still possible that the design of the triforium was altered under the inspiration of work seen by Bernardo or Gelmírez in southern France, and that the dedication of the nine chapels occurred not long after the completion of the transept vault. The old church of the ninth and eleventh centuries (occupying on the plan the rectangle Ψ — Ψ — Ψ — Ψ plus a part of the sanctuary) was taken down only in 1112.[5] The new church seems to have been set out so that it could be completed, or nearly so, as the chronicle says, without taking down the old building.[6]

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[1] The transept gables, however, were decorated with cusped and mitred arches, like the eastern chapel — a sign of early date and common authorship. The turrets are also unusual in design, and are very early examples of their kind.

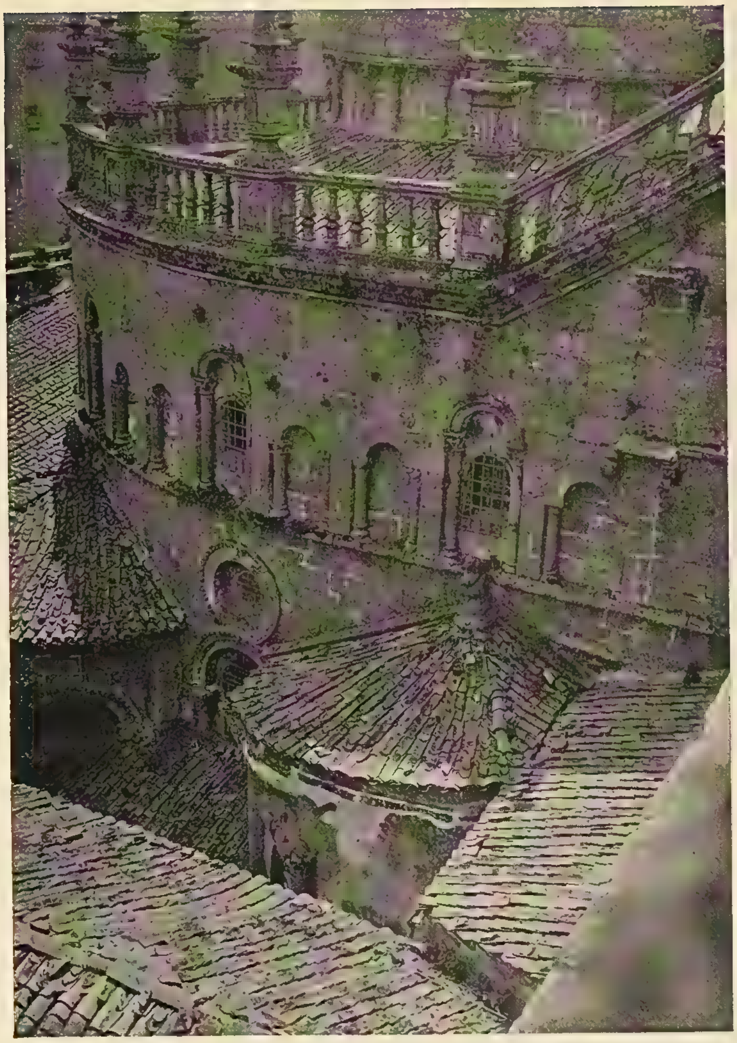
[2] To be observed here also, pairs of corbels and bits of the old choir and apse cornices. Pairs of cut-off corbels belonging to the latter appear over the blank arcades all around the apse.

[3] Consecrated in 1101.

[4] In this connection it is interesting to note that the church of St.-Martial at Limoges, which was of similar design, was slightly smaller in dimensions, which may be taken for what it is worth as an indication of earlier date. The dimensions are given in De Lasteyrie, *L'Abbaye de St.-Martial de Limoges*, p. 299, as 102 metres' length over all; width of great arm 21 metres (aisles 4 metres 80, nave 8 metres 80). Judging by the very poor old drawing there reproduced, we have in St.-Nicholas at Blois an apse recalling the destroyed one of St.-Martial, except that the latter was round-arched. See also the *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. LXXXIII, p. 172.

[5] *Historia Compostelana*, Bk. I, chap. lxxviii, in *España Sagrada*, vol. XX, p. 137.

[6] But the northern pair of great piers, with two piers to the east and one to the west, would have had to be cut into the old nave wall. There is a plan, absurdly inaccurate in detail, in the López Ferreiro, which shows this (vol. II, p. 186; partly reproduced in Lampérez, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 309). I could not find the authority for this plan, which represents the excavations carried out in 1878 and 1879 under López Ferreiro himself. It is likely that he intended to give a fuller account of it in the last volumes of his book, which, on account of his death, never appeared. The object of these excavations was rather to find the bones of the Apostle, which upon verification were found not to be in the primitive sepulchre, than to study the remains of the old church. Most of the sanctuary was investigated at this time. The authorities came to the conclusion that the relics of the Apostle and his disciples had been removed in 1589 from the sepulchre and put in a rough hiding-place (marked *Escondrijo;* near no. 15 on the



6. The Apse, seen from the Roof of the North Transept.
(Phot. Byne)

On the other hand, the completion of the main fabric must not be put too late. The Archbishop was subject to many vexations and exactions beginning with the revolt of 1117; the country went through a civil war, and the prelate's health began to fail him in 1129. After his death in 1140 the diocese had a hard time of it until the episcopate of Don Pedro Gudestéis, beginning in 1168, when the next great building campaign was undertaken.

This campaign was for the completion and embellishment of the portals, and its principal work was the celebrated Pórtico de la Gloria. The façade was carried higher, and consequently the inner entrance of the crypt (Santiago de Abajo) was strengthened. It is usually said that the vault of the crypt was remade at this time, but this was not necessarily the case. The crypt is very consistent in design; it was probably begun about 1100, or even a little later,[1] at a time when ribbed vaulting was beginning to be understood, especially in Normandy, and one of the architects of Santiago, Roberto, has a Norman name. After the Gloria, the great rose was built.[2] On the mouldings of the smaller roses at the side and rear of this upper compartment occurs the same scallop which is used on the outer edge of the elaborate archivolts above the Puerta de las Platerías and on the rose window introduced above the Puerta Francigena, which, with the new rose over the Platerías, I assign to this campaign. The marked similarity between the archivolts above the Platerías and those of the portal of the Corticela might lead one to assign the latter to this campaign, or, with probability, to a later continuation of it.[3]

The conclusion of these works, or some great part of them, was perhaps the occasion of the dedication of the church, which took place on April 3, 1211, in the episcopate of Don Pedro Muñiz.

Archaeologists have been occupied almost exclusively with the original structure, to the neglect of the modifications of the twelfth and thirteenth

plan) when Drake was at la Coruña with 14,000 men, intending "*después de apoderarse de la Coruña . . . destruir á Santiago*, principal emporio de la superstición papal *según ellos*" (Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 307 *ff.*).

The feretory in which the "*escondrijo*" lies was doubtless Gelmírez's *confessio*, and probably contained the Magdalen altar where the pilgrims' morning mass was sung. López Ferreiro (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 238) makes out from the description in the *Compostelana* that it was entered between two columns of the ciborium of the high altar, which seems very strange. The text merely says that the *confessio* was between two columns of the ciborium and presented a handsome appearance as one entered (Bk. I, chap. xviii; *España Sagrada*, vol. XX, p. 52: *Quam equidem confessionem infra duas altaris columnas, quae Cibolium sustinent, quantam vel qualem construxerit apparet, quando felicem aditum praebet intrantibus*). In view of the text, I believe that the *confessio* was arranged as shown in Plate VI.

[1] It has a triplet with two mitred arches on the square end of the sanctuary and other reminiscences of the eleventh-century work of the cathedral, particularly in plan. The vaults are of rubble and have semicircular transverse and segmental diagonal ribs, like Norman work.

[2] The figure of 79 feet given in Baedeker as the height of the vault at Santiago possibly refers to the vault of this compartment. The height of the nave vault is usually given as 72 feet; it actually measures 68 feet 3 inches.

[3] Under the steps at the west of the crypt-chapel (Plate VI) there is a segmental barrel vault of 1606, like those of the aisles of the Corticela. On this basis the vault might be numbered among the changes made in the Corticela in the Renaissance times.

and fourteenth centuries. Yet the later work on the exterior gave the cathedral a good deal that was very much its own; gave it the character which distinguished it throughout the later Middle Ages and well into the eighteenth century. This was largely the work of the century between 1112 and 1211. Looked at in this light, the latter date assumes a new importance, and it is to be hoped that it will provoke discussion and studies which will establish the details of its history with more precision.

I think with mingled feelings of the strange cathedral lost beneath the piled-up extravagances of its Baroque additions. No one who has seen the building at all times of day and in all weathers, who has paced the Plaza del Hospital at midnight beneath the mounting pointed shadows of the towers with their great quiet-lying flanking masses to either side, and made the tortuous circuit of the church in the tranquil dimness of that hour, would care to have the cathedral different. It is perhaps just as well to be contented with the building as it has come down to us, for it has always been, to an uncommon degree, a living building, and its mediaeval aspect is only an episode in a life of unusual richness.

CODEX OF CALIXTUS II, BOOK V

CHAPTER IX

Description of the City and Basilica of Santiago the Apostle in Galicia
Pope Calixtus and Chancellor Aymery

I

Between two rivers, one called the Sar, the other the Sarela, lies the city of Compostela. To the east is the Sar, between Montjoie and the city; to the west is the Sarela. The gates and entrances to the city number seven; the first is known as the Puerta Francigena; the second, the Puerta de la Peña; the third, *de Subfratibus;* the fourth, de San Pelegrino; the fifth, de la Fajera, which leads to the *petronum;*[1] the sixth, *de Susannis;*[2] the seventh, the Puerta Mazarelos, through which the precious wine comes into the city.

II. *The Churches of the City*

In the city are ten churches, among which first of all the glorious church of the most glorious Apostle James the son of Zebedee shines forth, centrally situated. The second is that of the Apostle S. Pedro, a monastery church near the Puerta Francigena; the third, of S. Miguel called *de Cisterna;* the fourth that of the Bishop S. Martín called *de Piniario,* which is also a monastery church; the fifth, Sta. Trinidad, which is the pilgrims' burial place; the sixth, of the Virgin Sta. Susanna, which is near the road leading to the *petronum;* the seventh, of the Martyr S. Felix; the eighth, of S. Benito; the ninth, of the Martyr S. Pelayo, behind the basilica of the Blessed James; the tenth, that of the Virgin Sta. María, which is behind the church of Santiago and has an entrance into it between [1] the chapels of S. Nicolás and Sta. Cruz.

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[1] Pile of stones, possibly a boundary or other marker of some sort.

[2] Waste fields.

III. *The Dimensions of the Church*

The basilica of Santiago is in length forty-three times a man's stature, measuring from the western doorway to the altar of S. Salvador; [2] in width, thirty-nine times, measuring from the Puerta Francigena to the south portal.[3] The interior height is fourteen times a man's stature.[4]

It is not worth anyone's while to know what the external length and height are.

The church has nine aisles on the lower level, and six on the upper, also a principal apsidal chapel (namely that containing the altar of S. Salvador) and a sanctuary with ambulatory; a nave and two transepts; and it has eight small apsidal chapels, each with an altar.

Six of the nine aisles we speak of as small, and three as great. The first principal aisle stretches from the west portal to the four middle piers which dominate the church, and it has a lesser aisle to the right and to the left. There are two other naves in the two transepts, of which the first extends from the Puerta Francigena to the four piers of the crossing, and the second from these same piers to the south portal; both have two lesser lateral aisles. These three principal naves reach to the vault of the church, and the six lesser aisles to about the middle of the piers. Each of the great arms [5] measures eleven and a half times a man's stature in breadth.[6] We call a man's stature just eight palms.

There are twenty-nine piers in the great nave, fourteen to the right hand, and as many to the left, and one comes between the inner portals designed as protection against the weather, standing between the two arches.[7] In the naves of the transept of the church, from the Puerta Francigena, that is, to the south portal, there are twenty-six piers, twelve at the right hand and as many at the left; two of them, placed within, before the doors, stand between the arches and portals.

In the apse of the church, besides, there are eight single columns about the altar of the Blessed James.

The six aisles which are above in the triforium [8] of the church are the same in length and width as the corresponding aisles below. On one side the walls bound them, and on the other, the piers rising from the lower part of the great naves and pairs of shafts of the kind called semi-cylindrical by the masons. There are as many piers in the lower part of the church as in the naves above; and as many as are the arches below, so many are they in the triforium above. But in the triforium passages there are, between successive piers, in each case, two of the shafts called by the masons cylindrical columns.

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[1] Text has *Item altare sci. Nicholai et sci. Crucis,* as a separate sentence; *item* is probably a mistake for *inter,* since the location of this portal was as indicated.

[2] Inclusive — about 296 feet.

[3] From valve to valve, about 218 feet originally.

[4] Discussed in article. These data and the cross-nave measurements appear to give a value of 5.59 feet for the *status hominis.*

[5] More literally, great naves, but the measurement is wall to wall.

[6] Sixty-four feet 3 inches (an average measurement).

[7] Where the trumeau of the Pórtico de la Gloria now stands.

[8] Text has *palacio;* the triforium is connected in two places with the palace, and was perhaps considered a part of it.

In the church there is indeed not a single crack, nor any damage to be found; it is wonderfully built, large, spacious, well-lighted; of fitting size, harmonious in width, length, and height; held to be admirable and beautiful in execution. Thus in two ways it is built like a regal palace. For he who visits the triforium, if sad when he ascends, once he has seen the preëminent beauty of this temple, is rejoiced and filled with gladness.

IV. *The Windows*

The glazed windows in the basilica proper number sixty-three, and in each and every chapel there are three. In the vault of the basilica about the altar of the Blessed James which is in the apse there are five windows[1] from which the altar of the apostle receives a good light. In the triforium above are windows to the number of forty-three.

V. *The Lesser Portals*

The church has, in addition to seven small entrances, three principal portals: one which faces the west, the main portal; another to the south, and still another to the north. In each portal there are two doorways, and in each doorway, two doors. The first of the minor portals is called that of Sta. María; the second, of the Via Sacra; the third, of S. Pelayo; the fourth, that of the Canonica; the fifth, the Stoneyard Portal; the sixth likewise, Stoneyard Portal; the seventh, the Grammar School Portal, which also communicates with the dwelling of the archbishop.

VI. *The Fountain of St. James*

When we of Gallic nation wish to enter the apostolic basilica, we go in on the northern side. Before the entrance is situated, near the street, the hospice for poor pilgrims of Santiago; and beyond the street there is a sort of park with nine descending steps, the Paradiso. At the foot of the steps of this Paradiso there is a remarkable fountain, the like of which is not to be found in the whole world. This fountain has three stone steps at its base, upon which rests a very handsome hollow round stone conch, like a platter or basin; so large, I judge, that fifteen men could bathe in it. In the centre of it is set a bronze column of seven pieces fitted together,[2] large in the lower part and suitably tall; from the top of it project four lions, out of whose mouths flow jets of water for the refreshment of the pilgrims of the Blessed James and the townspeople. The streams, after they issue from the lions' mouths, fall at once into the basin below, and, passing through an opening in the basin itself, are drained off under ground. Thus it is impossible to see whence the water comes or whither it goes. This water is sweet, nourishing, healthful, clear, excellent; warm in winter, cool in summer. On the column referred to above is inscribed, in two lines, round about beneath the lions' paws, the following:

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[1] An emendation; text untranslatable; see p. 148, note 3, where the text is given. I transfer *altare tres* to follow *unumquodque*, and make the text agree with the facts.

[2] Another reading, "of heptagonal plan."

> ✠ I Bernardo, Treasurer of the Blessed James, brought this
> water hither and built this present work
> For the good of my soul and those of my parents.
> iii Ides of April, in the Era [1] 1160.[2]

VII. *The Paradiso of the City*

Beyond the fountain is the Paradiso, as we have said, with a pavement of cut stone. In it are sold *crusille piscium*,[3] between the signs of the Blessed James, that is to say; [4] wine-flasks, *sotulares*,[5] deerskin pouches, purses, shoe-latchets, belts; all kinds of medicinal herbs, and other drugs; and many other things are offered there for sale. There are money-changers, hospices, and other merchants in the Via Francigena. The Paradiso is about a stone's throw in length on each side.

VIII. *The North Portal*

At the back of this Paradiso is the north portal, the Puerta Francigena, of the basilica of Santiago, with two entrances, which have the following beautiful sculptured decoration. At each opening there are six columns, some of marble, others of stone: three to the right and three to the left: six, that is to say, at one entrance, and six at the other; and so there are twelve columns. Above the shaft between the two portals, on the outer side, there is let into the wall the seated figure of Our Lord in Majesty; with His right hand He gives benediction, and in His left He holds a book. And round about His throne are the Four Evangelists, as if supporting the throne. At His right is carved Paradise, with another figure of the Lord reproving Adam and Eve for their sin; He appears also to the right, driving them forth from Paradise. And round about are sculptured a multitude of images of saints, animals, men, angels, women, flowers, and other created things whose nature and quality we cannot relate because of their great number. But over the doorway to the left as we enter the basilica — within the arch, that is — is carved the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; there, too, the Angel Gabriel addresses her. To the left above the doors of the entrance at the side, the months of the year and many other beautiful works are represented in sculpture. Here are, also, two great fierce lions extending out from the wall, one to the right and one to the left, who continually look down as if keeping their eyes upon the doors.

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[1] Of the Roman province, beginning 38 B.C. and used until the later Middle Ages.

[2] April 13, 1122.

[3] "Fish crosses" — conceivably cockle shells marked with, or made into, crosses.

[4] *Id est inter signa bti. Iacobi; inter signa* might be emended to "*insignia.*"

[5] Probably invocatory medals of one kind or another.

On the upper part of the jambs are four Apostles, each holding a book in his left hand, and with his raised right hand giving a benediction to those entering the basilica. On the left-hand portal are Peter (at the right) and Paul (at the left); on the right-hand portal are the Apostle St. John (at the right) and the Blessed James (at the left). Above the head of each Saint is carved the head of a bull, corbeled out from the jamb.

IX. *The South Portal*

The South Portal has two entrances, as we have said, with four door-valves. In the right-hand arch, (on the exterior, that is, in the first band above the doors), the Betrayal of Our Lord is wonderfully carved. There He is bound to the pillar by the hands of the Jews; there the whips play; there Pilate sits enthroned, as if judging Him. And above, on the other band, is sculptured the Blessed Mary, Mother of Our Lord, with her Child, in Bethlehem, and the three Kings who are come to visit the Boy and the Mother, offering Him three gifts; and the star also is carved there, and the angel warning the Kings not to return to Herod. On the jambs of this doorway are two apostles like warders of the doors, one to the right and one to the left.

Similarly there are two other apostles placed at the other doorway, to the left, on the jambs, that is to say. And in the first band of this doorway, above the doors, that is, is carved the Temptation of Our Lord. There are four angels like demons setting Him upon the pinnacle of the Temple; others offer Him stones, urging Him to make bread of them; others spread out before Him the kingdoms of the world, pretending that they will give them to Him if He will fall down and worship them — may it not thus be! But there are also others, white or good angels, behind His back, and still other angels above with censers, ministering unto Him.

On this same portal, there are four lions, one to the right of one doorway, and another by the other doorway. Above the middle shaft between the two doorways are two ferocious lions, back to back.[1] There are eleven columns on the portal — at the right-hand door, five, and at the left-hand door, five; and an eleventh which comes between the two doorways, separating the arches. And these columns (some of marble, others of stone) are marvellously carved with images of flowers, men, birds, and animals. The marble columns here are of white marble.

Nor ought we to forget the female figure set near the Temptation of Our Lord: she holds in her hands the rotting head of her lover, cut off by her husband, who forces her to kiss it twice each day. What a great and admirable judgment upon an adulterous woman, to be recounted to everyone!

Above the four doors the upper zone, near the triforium level of the church, is beautifully resplendent with an admirable band of figures sculptured on slabs of white marble. There is a standing figure of the Lord, and St. Peter holding the keys in his hands is at His left, while the Blessed James is at his right between two cypress trees; next him stands St. John his brother, while at the right and left are apostles and others. The wall above and below, on the right side and on the left, is most excellently sculptured with flowers, men and saints, beasts, birds, fish, and other works,[1] which are beyond the possible limits of our recital. But it might be said that there are four angels above the archivolts, each with a trumpet, announcing the Day of Judgment.

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[1] An abbreviation of the amusing mediaeval phrase.

x. *The West Portal*

The West Portal, with two doorways,[2] in beauty, size, and in the works upon it, excels the other portals. It is greater and handsomer, and more wonderfully carved than the others; it is provided with a great number of steps of approach; it is adorned by various marble columns and decorated with many kinds of creatures and in various ways; it is sculptured with images of men, women, beasts, birds, saints, angels, flowers, and works of divers kinds, so many that they cannot be included in our description. In the upper part, however, is a wonderful carving of the Lord's Transfiguration as it occurred on Mount Tabor. Our Lord is represented there in a white cloud, His face shining like the sun, His garments refulgent like snow, the Father above speaking to Him; and Moses and Elias who appeared with Him, telling Our Lord of His death which was to take place in Jerusalem. The Blessed James is there, as are Peter and John, to whom, before any others, the Lord revealed His transfiguration.

xi. *The Towers of the Church*

There are to be nine towers on the church — two over the portal by the fountain, two over the South Portal, two over the West Portal, one over each of the winding stairways,[3] and a larger one in the middle of the basilica.

The splendid basilica of the Blessed James is gorgeous with these and other very beautiful works. It is all built of very strong, living stone,[4] brown,[5] and very hard.[6] Within it has various paintings, and without it is roofed in the best manner with lead and *teoli*.[7] But of these things we have mentioned, some are already entirely finished and others are yet to be completed.

xii. *The Chapels*[8] *of the Basilica*

The basilica has its altars arranged in the following order. First, adjoining the Puerta Francigena, which is on the left side, comes the Chapel of S. Nicolás, next, the Chapel of Sta. Cruz; then (in the ambulatory, that is), the Chapel of the Virgin Sta. Fé, then the Chapel of the Apostle and Evangelist S. Juan, the brother of Santiago; next comes the altar of S. Salvador, in the principal absidiole; then the Chapel of the Apostle S. Pedro, then the Chapel of S. Andrés, then the Chapel of the Bishop S. Martín; then comes the Chapel of the Baptist S. Juan.

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[1] Reference is doubtless made to the corbels here and in corresponding passages relating to the other portals.

[2] The inner doorways referred to in Article III. There were probably four arches in the front wall.

[3] *Due super singulas uites.*

[4] Probably, in the walls, only the facing is of cut stone. The vault is certainly of rubble, and the core of the rest of the building may be, as well.

[5] Still true of the interior and those parts of the exterior which have been protected during the last few centuries. Elsewhere the stone is a dull silver gray.

[6] Now showing marked deterioration on the exposed parts of the exterior. In many places (including the Puerta de las Platerías) pieces may easily be dislodged by hand.

[7] A word doubtless derived from *tegula* (Latin, tile) and probably referring to the stone slabs, which overlap like tiles. They measure about 1 foot 8 inches on the slope; the lower edge is about 5 inches in thickness.

[8] *Altaria;* the usual translation is "altars."

Between the altar of Santiago and that of the Salvador stands the altar of Sta. María Magdalena, where the pilgrims' morning mass is sung.

Above in the triforium there are customarily three altars,[1] of which the principal one is that of the Archangel S. Miguel; there is another altar, to the right, dedicated to S. Benito, and still another dedicated to the Apostle S. Pablo and the Bishop S. Nicolás to the left, where also the archbishop's chapel customarily is.

XIII. *The Body and the Altar of Santiago*

But as we have thus far described the church, now we must consider the venerable apostolic altar. Within the said venerable basilica, the revered body of the Blessed James lies under the high altar raised in his honor, enclosed by the *arca marmorica*, in state, as the tradition has it, in a very fine sepulchre of wonderful workmanship and fitting size.[2] That the body is immovable is well known from the testimony of Theodomir, bishop of this city, who found it in time past, and was unable to stir it from its place. So let the folk beyond the mountains blush when they claim to have any part of it, or relics of him. For the entire body of the Apostle is there; heavenly jewels brighten it; it is graced with unfailing odors, fragrant and divine; it is embellished by the splendor of celestial lights, and unceasingly honored by angelic adoration.

Above the sepulchre of St. James is a small altar which his disciples made, tradition has it, and which, for love of the Apostle and his disciples, no one has since wished to destroy. And above this is a large and admirable altar five palms high, twelve long, and seven wide.[3] I have with my own hands thus measured it. There is also a small altar made of three pieces of stone under this great altar, which is closed at the back and on the right and left sides, but open in front so that the old altar can clearly be seen when the silver altar frontal is removed.

And if anyone should wish to send a covering or altar-cloth for the apostolic altar, he should make it nine palms in width and twenty-one in length. And if any one for love of God and the Apostle should send an antependium to cover the altar in front, let him see that it is made seven palms wide and thirteen long.

XIV. *The Silver Frontal*

The frontal before the altar is gloriously wrought of gold and silver. In the centre of it is sculptured the Lord's throne, on which are the Twenty-four Elders placed as the Blessed John, brother of St. James, saw them in his Apocalypse — twelve to the right and as many to the left, round about, holding zithers and golden phials of sweet spices in their hands. In the midst of the Throne sits the Lord in Majesty, holding the Book of Life in His left hand, and giving blessing with His right. Around His Throne are the Four Evangelists, as if holding up the Throne. The Twelve Apostles are placed at His right and His left, three at the right in the first register and three in the upper; similarly there are at the left, three in the first, the lower register, and three in the upper. There are finely wrought flowers in the border round about and very lovely columns between the apostles. This fitting and beautiful frontal has this inscription in verse on the upper part:

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[1] Perhaps in the apse gallery and above the portals, respectively.

[2] Imaginary.

[3] The palm, judging by the church measurement, is just under seven tenths of a foot.

> "Diego II Bishop of the See of Santiago made this frontal in the fifth year of his episcopate.[1] Seventy-five marks[2] of the silver came from the treasury of Santiago";

and below, this inscription:

> "Alfonso was King, and Raimundo his son-in-law was Duke when the before-mentioned Bishop finished the work."

XV. *The Ciborium of the Apostolic Altar*

The canopy which covers this venerable altar is marvellously wrought inside and out with paintings and representations of various kinds. It is square, well proportioned in height and width, and carried on four columns. On the lower part of the field[3] within, are certain special Virtues which St. Paul mentions, represented as women, eight in number. There are two at each corner. And above their heads are standing angels, holding in their raised hands a throne, which is at the crown of the vault. On the throne is the Lamb of God holding a cross with His foot. There are as many angels as Virtues.

Outside, in the first register, are four angels, who announce the Resurrection of Judgment Day with blaring trumpets. Two are in the front, and two behind in the other face at the rear. Similarly placed there are four prophets, Moses and Abraham on the left-hand side, and Isaac and Jacob on the right, each one holding in his hand a scroll with his prophecy.

The Twelve Apostles are seated round about in a row above, with the Blessed James in the middle of the façade or front face, his left hand holding a book, his right hand making the sign of benediction. At his right is another apostle, and at his left, still another, in the same register. Similarly, there are three other apostles on the right side of the ciborium, three on the left, and likewise three at the back.

On the covering above are seated four angels, as if guarding the altar, while at the four angles where this roofing begins are carved the Four Evangelists with their proper iconography.[4]

The ciborium is painted on the inner parts; its exterior is sculptured as well as painted.

At its summit is built a kind of three-arched top stage, in which is carved the Trinity which makes up God. In the first arch, which faces the west, stands the

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[1] Gelmírez; A.D. 1105 or 1106.

[2] A mark equal to about $8, though its purchasing power was of course very much greater.

[3] Literally, in the first row.

[4] *Propriis similitudinibus;* has also been translated "each with his symbol," or "portrait statues."

Person of the Father; in the second, which faces between south and east, the Person of the Son; and in the third, which faces north,[1] the Person of the Holy Spirit. Again, above this upper stage there is a shining silver ball, on which a precious cross is set.

XVI. *The Three Lamps*

Before the altar of the Blessed James three large silver lamps are suspended for the honor of Christ and the Apostle. That in the middle is very great in size, and is marvellously wrought in the shape of a mortar, with seven receptacles, each with a light, recalling the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit. These receptacles are never filled with anything but balsam, myrtle, whale, or olive oil. The receptacle in the middle is larger than the rest, and each of the receptacles round about it has the images of two apostles sculptured on the outside. May the soul of King Alfonso[2] of Aragon, who gave it, as we have it, rest in eternal peace.[3]

XVII. *The Dignity of the Church of Santiago and of its Canons*

As a rule, no one celebrates mass at the altar of the Blessed James unless he be a bishop, archbishop, or pope, or a cardinal of this church. There are by custom seven cardinals in the church who celebrate the divine office at the altar, constituted and conceded by many popes in former days, and confirmed besides by our lord Pope Calixtus. For love of the Apostle, no one should diminish the dignity which by good custom the basilica of the Blessed James enjoys.

XVIII. *The Masons of the Church, and the Fine Quality of its Construction*

The master-masons who first labored at the building of the basilica of the Blessed James were named Don Bernardo the elder[4] the marvellous master,[5] and Roberto, who, with about fifty other masons, worked assiduously at it under the very faithful administration of Don Wicarto,[6] the Canon Don Sigeredo, and the Abbot Don Gundesindo,[7] in the reign of Alfonso, King of Spain, and under the Bishop Don Diego I,[8] a strenuous militant churchman and noble man. The church was begun in the Era 1116.[9] From the year of its commencement to the death of that very powerful and famous King of Aragon, Alfonso,[10] fifty-nine years elapsed; to the death of King Henry of England,[11] sixty-two years; and to the death of Louis the Fat,[12] King of France, sixty-three years. From the year in which the first stone was laid in its foundations until that in which the last stone was put into place, forty-four years elapsed.[1]

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[1] These directions are fairly accurate; the church is not truly oriented, because the original sepulchre was not. Oddly enough the ninth-century church (Ψ—Ψ—Ψ—Ψ on the plan) was a little better oriented than the present one.

[2] Alfonso I. The lamp was perhaps given in the early '30's.

[3] The other lamps are not described.

[4] *Senex.*

[5] *Magister mirabilis.*

[6] Perhaps a better reading is "the Vicar."

[7] All names of Germanic origin.

[8] Diego Peláez.

[9] A.D. 1078.

[10] Alfonso I, † September, 1134 (1078+59 = 1137).

[11] Henry I, † December, 1135 (1078+62 = 1140).

[12] Louis VI, † August, 1137 (1078+63 = 1141). To add to the confusion, the *Compostelana* gives 1078 in one place and 1082 in another. (*España Sagrada*, vol. XX, pp. 138, 473.)

And this church, from the time it was begun until the present day, has flourished in the glory of the miracles of the Blessed James. In it health is lent the sick, sight returned to the blind; the tongue of the mute is unloosed; hearing is restored to the deaf, normal carriage afforded the lame, relief conceded the possessed; and what is better, the prayers of faithful people are heard, vows are undertaken, the bonds of sin are broken; to the stricken the skies are opened; to the grieving, consolation is given; and all foreign[2] nations from all the earth's climes troop thither, bearing with them gifts of praise to the Lord.

XIX. *The Dignity of the Church of Santiago*

Nor is it to be forgotten that for love and honor of the Apostle, the blessed Pope Calixtus (worthy of good memory) translated and gave to the Basilica and City of Santiago the archepiscopal dignity of the City of Mérida, which has been a metropolis in the land of the Saracens. And for this he ordained and confirmed Diego, a most noble man, to be the first archbishop of the Apostolic See of Compostela. This same Diego was previously bishop of Santiago.

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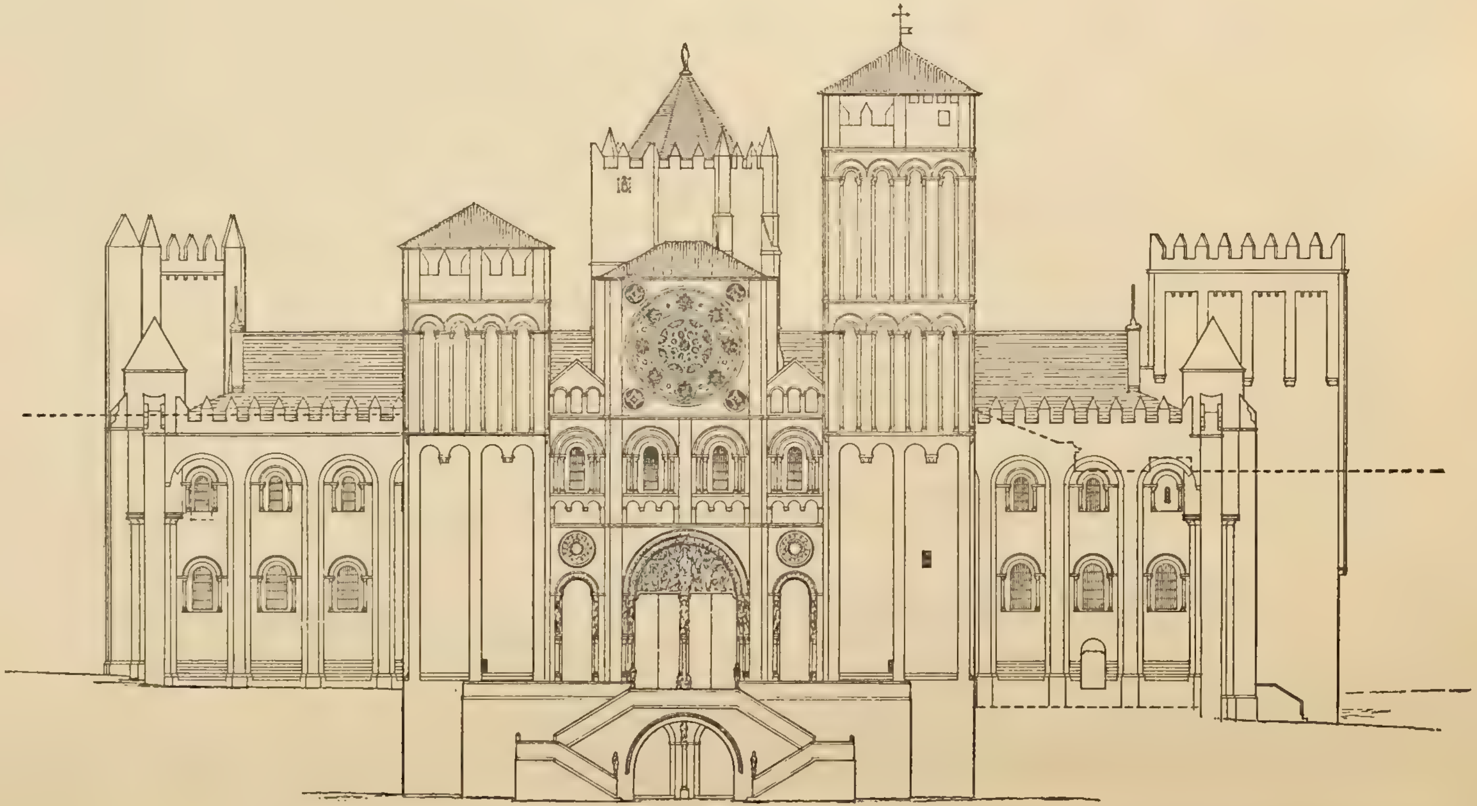
[1] 1078+44=1122.

[2] *Barbare.*

PLATE I

THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA



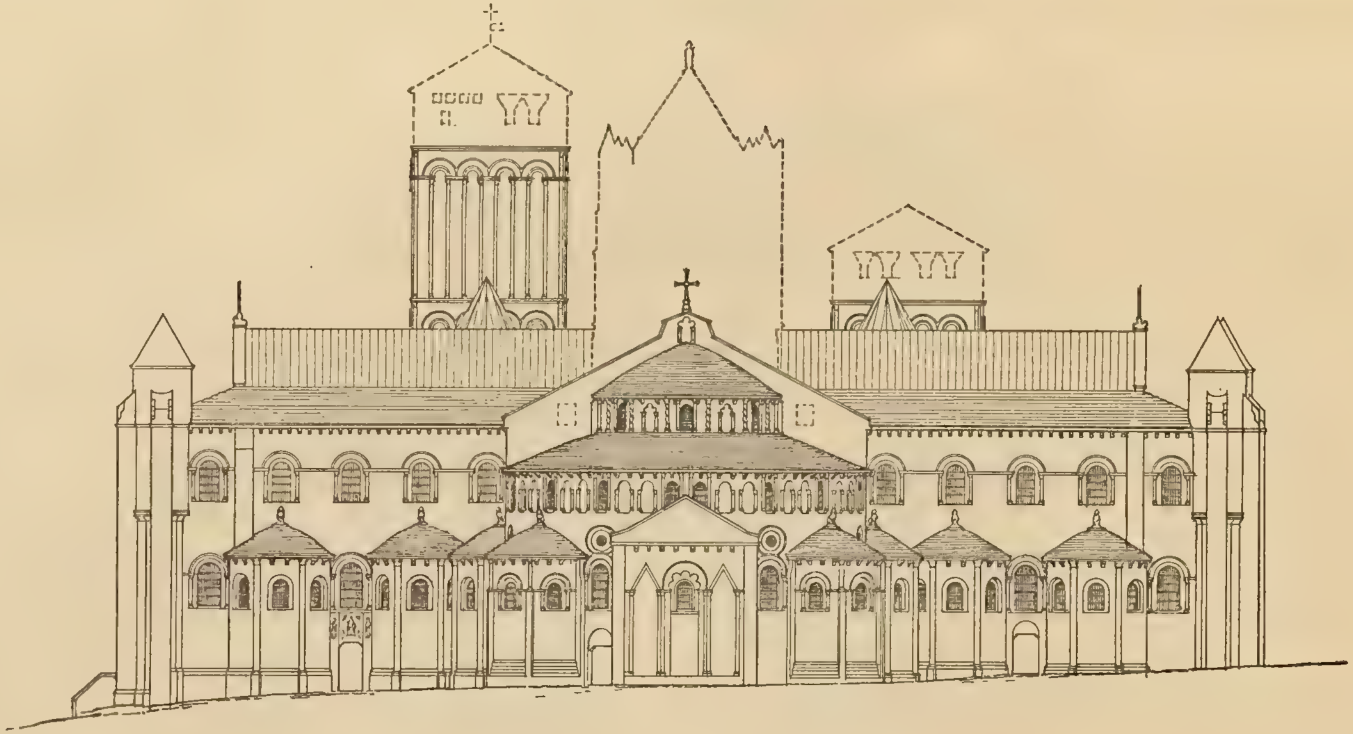
WEST ELEVATION *with Modifications to the Early Years of the XVth Century.*

SCALE 1:480 (1″=40′-0″)

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES

The heavy dotted lines indicate the top of the modern constructions at either side of the West Façade. Only the ground level of the old Cloister is shown (by a dotted line). The details of the Puerta I Petraria, the base mouldings of the walls, and the Western Approach are in part conjectural.

THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

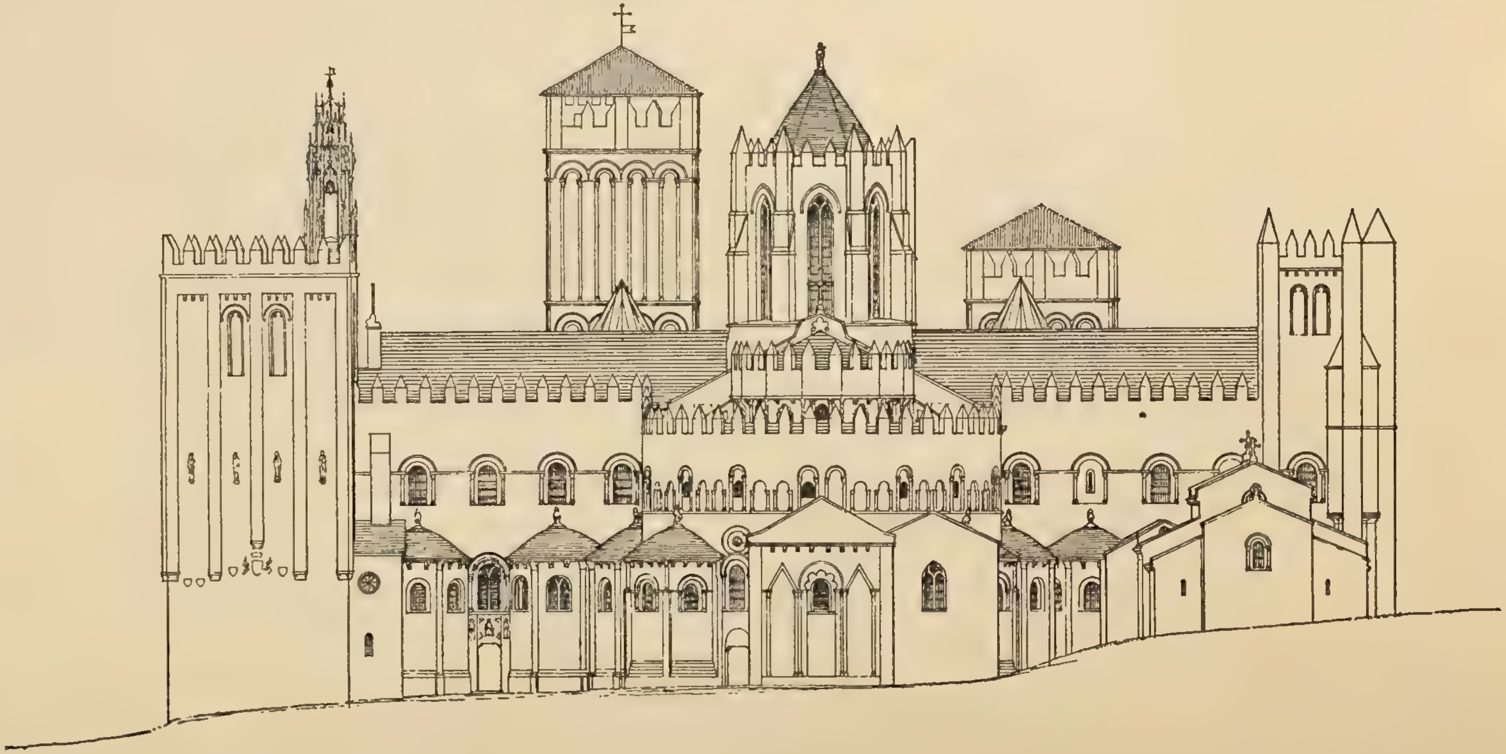


EAST ELEVATION as *Originally Designed*
SCALE 1:480 (1"=40'-0")

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES

The Central Tower and the upper parts of the Western Towers are indicated in dotted lines as they were later carried out; there are no definite indications of the designs originally intended. The round turrets and the details of the portals are in part conjectural.

THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA



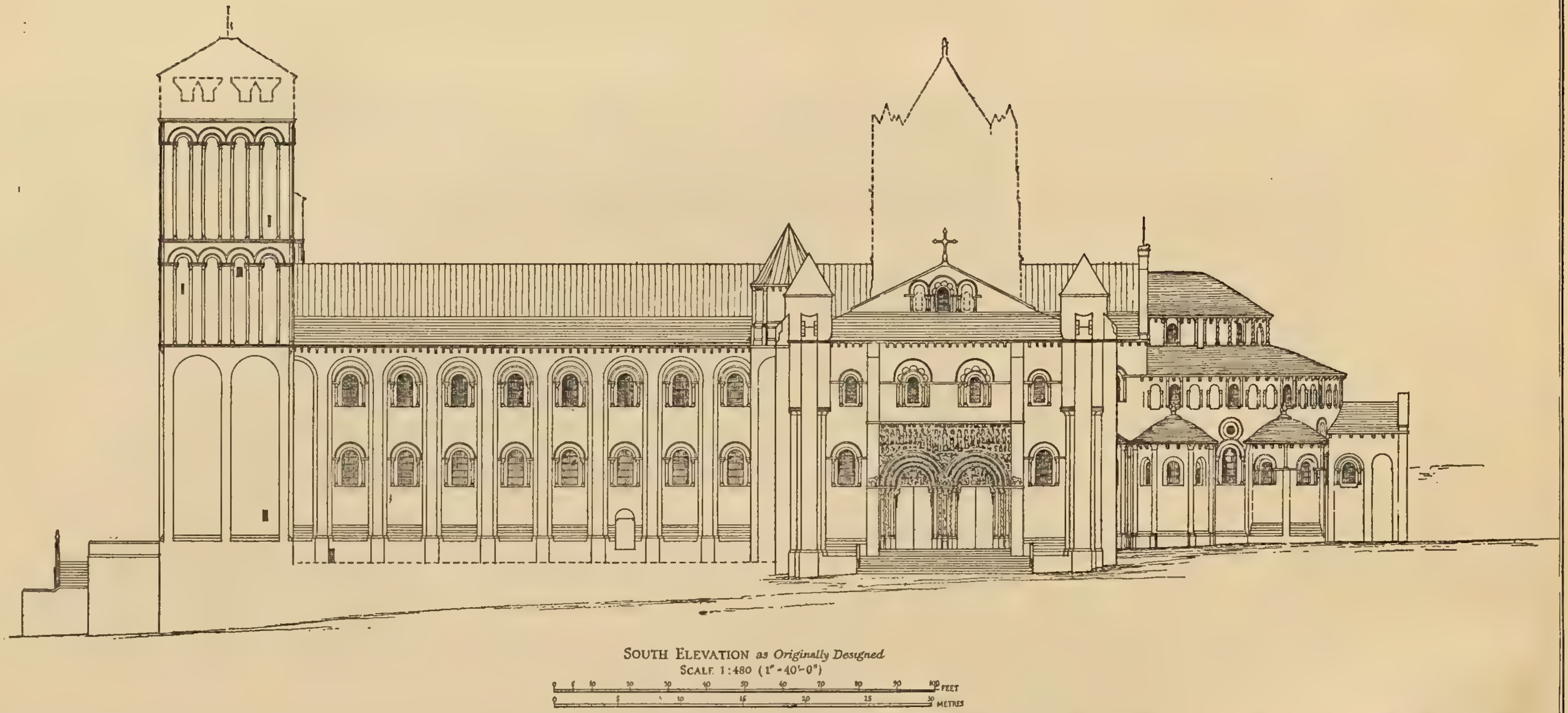
EAST ELEVATION *with Modifications to c. 1520.*
SCALE 1:480 (1″ = 40′-0″)

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES

The details of the Puerta S. Pelayo and the bases of the Polygonal and Transeptal Chapels, as well as the North-East Transeptal Tower and the east wall of the Chapel of the Corticela, are in part conjectural.

PLATE IV

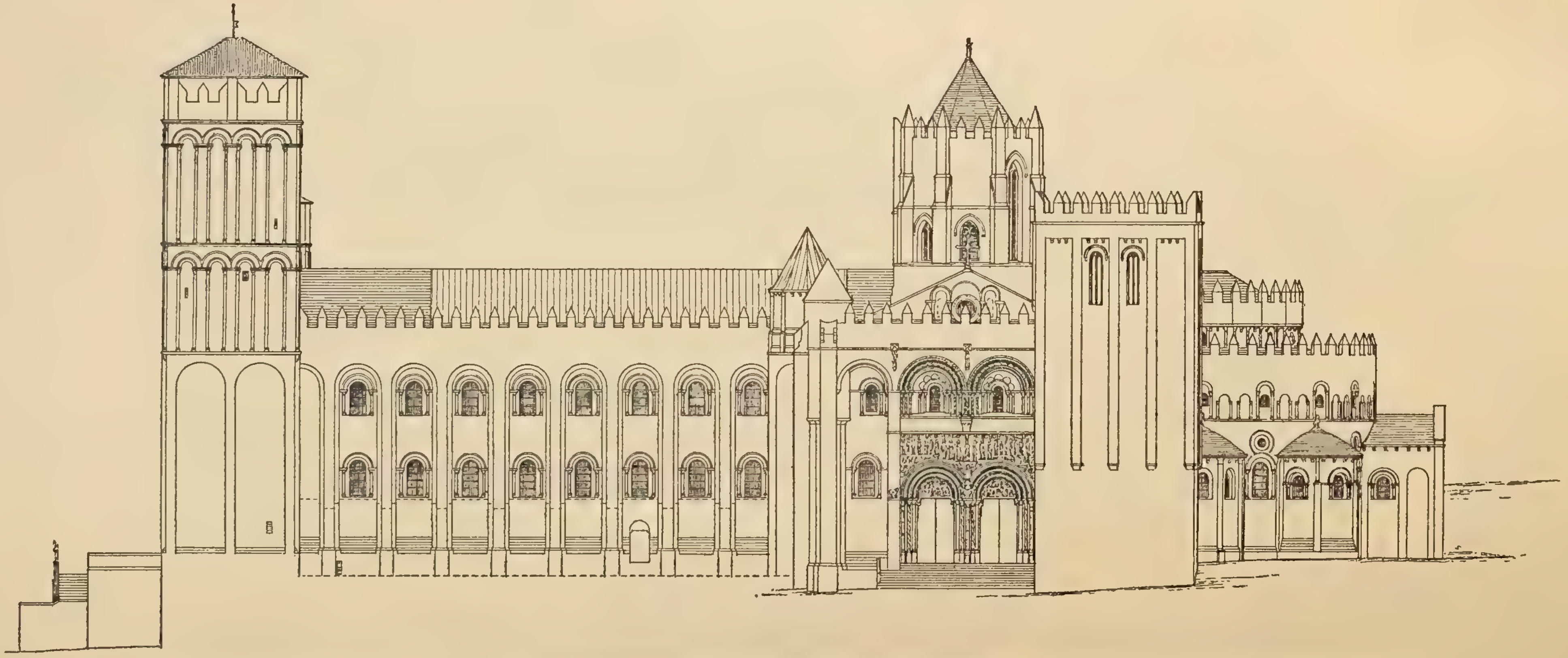
THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA


0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES

SOUTH ELEVATION *as Originally Designed*
SCALE 1:480 (1" = 40'-0")

The later terminations of the Western Towers and the Central Tower, two doubtful windows in the Gable above the Puerta de las Platerias, and the probable ground level of the old Cloister are indicated in dotted lines. The base mouldings, the Puerta II Petraria, the tops of the Transeptal Towers, and the South and West Approaches are in part conjectural.

THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

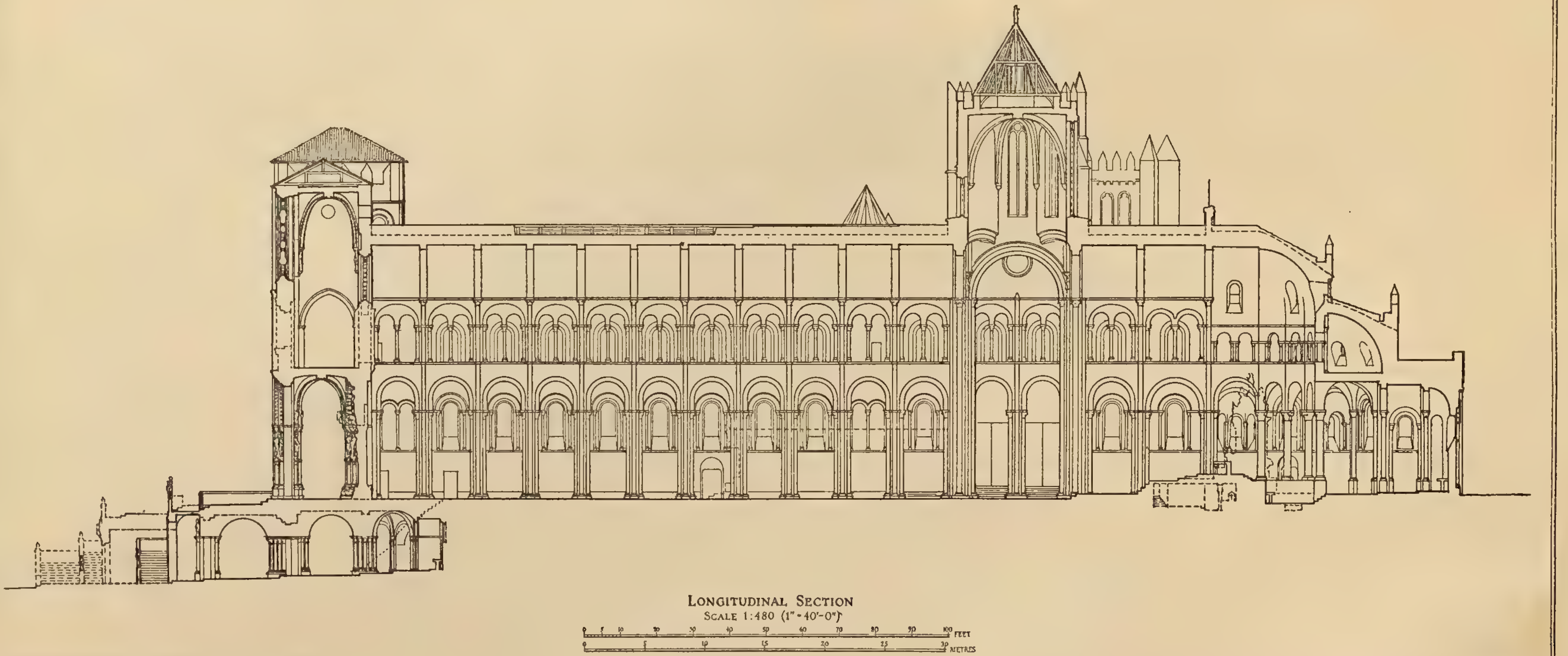


SOUTH ELEVATION *with Modifications to the Early Years of the XVth Century.*
SCALE 1:480 (1" = 40'-0")

0
5
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100 FEET
0
5
10
15
20
25
30 METRES

The probable level of the old Cloister Garth and the intersection of the roof of the North Walk with the Nave wall are indicated in dotted lines. The details of the base mouldings, the Puerta II Petraria, the South and West Approaches, and the tops of the Transeptal Towers are in part conjectural.

THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA



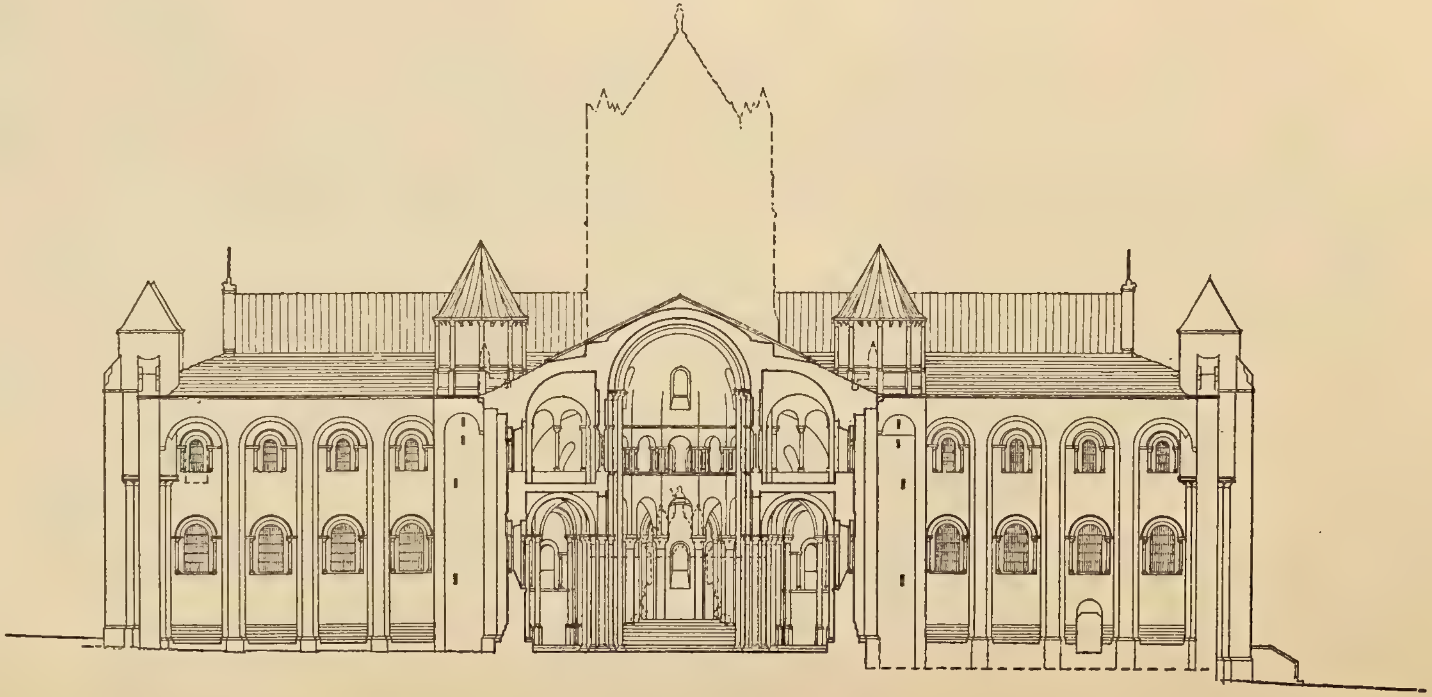
LONGITUDINAL SECTION
SCALE 1:480 (1"=40'-0")

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES

The original top of the Vault, the openings in the Western Walls, the net section of the vault of the Chapel of S. José, the small winding stair leading to that Chapel, the Renaissance Western Approach, Coro, and Altar, and the modern excavations in the Crypt and Escondrijo are indicated in dotted lines. The piers of the Chapel of S. José are given in elevation.

PLATE VII

THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA



TRANSVERSE SECTION OF NAVE *and* WEST ELEVATION OF TRANSEPT *as Originally Designed*

SCALE 1:480 (1" = 40'-0")

0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES

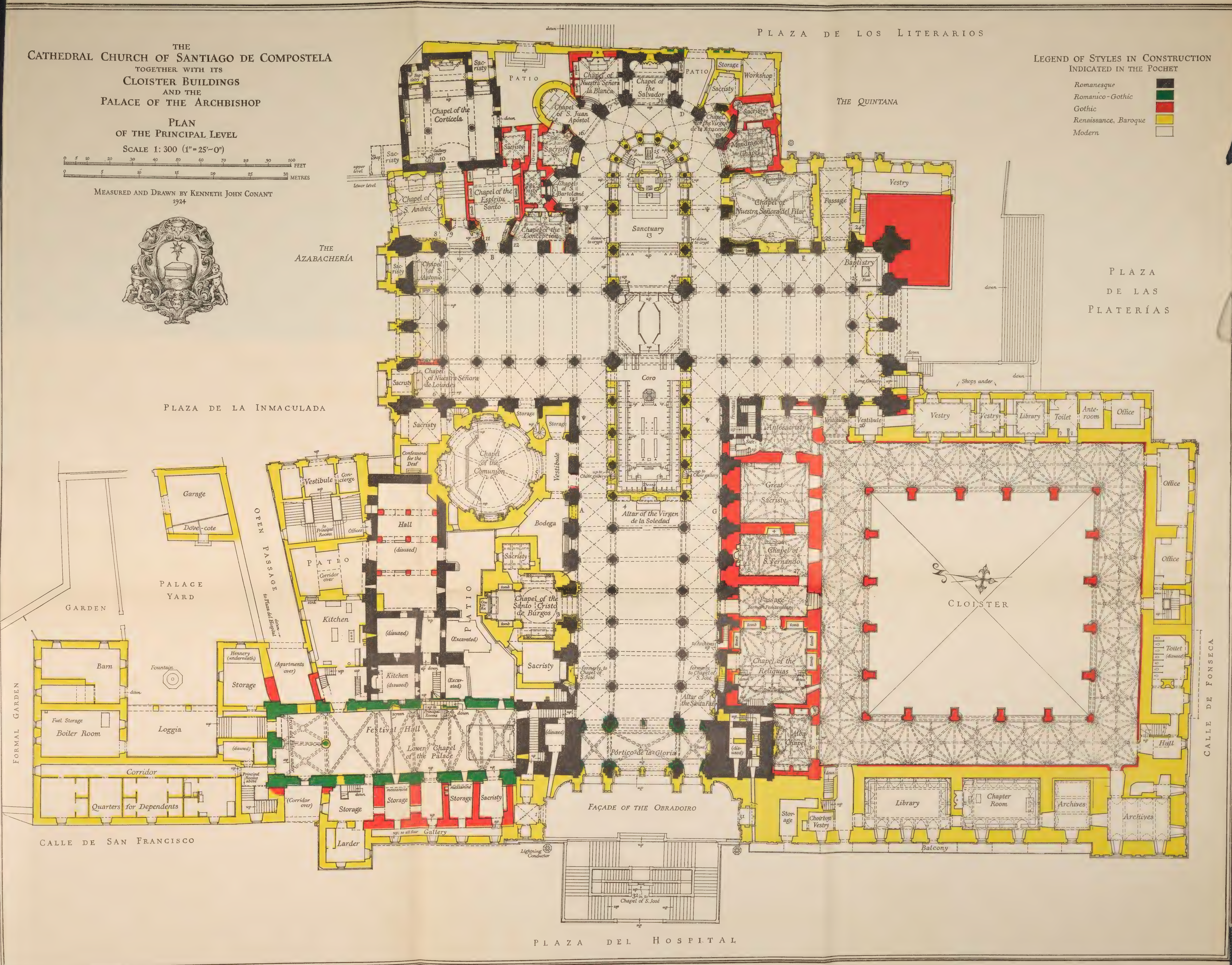
The later Central Tower, Battlements, and Cloister level, the Renaissance Coro and High Altar are given in dotted lines. The base mouldings, the Puerta I Petraria, the terminations of the Transeptal Towers and the South Approach are in part conjectural.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA
TOGETHER WITH ITS
CLOISTER BUILDINGS
AND THE
PALACE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

PLAN
OF THE PRINCIPAL LEVEL

SCALE 1: 300 (1" = 25'–0")

MEASURED AND DRAWN BY KENNETH JOHN CONANT
1924


0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES
LEGEND OF STYLES IN CONSTRUCTION
INDICATED IN THE POCHET
Romanesque ■
Romanico-Gothic 🟩
Gothic 🟥
Renaissance, Baroque 🟨
Modern ☐
PLAZA DE LOS LITERARIOS
THE QUINTANA
PLAZA DE LAS PLATERÍAS
THE AZABACHERÍA
PLAZA DE LA INMACULADA
CALLE DE SAN FRANCISCO
CALLE DE FONSECA
PLAZA DEL HOSPITAL
FORMAL GARDEN
GARDEN
PALACE YARD
OPEN PASSAGE
Chapel of the Corticela
Chapel of Nuestra Señora la Blanca
Chapel of the Salvador
Chapel of S. Juan Apóstol
Chapel of the Virgen de la Azucena
Mondragón Chapel
Chapel of S. Andrés
Chapel of the Espíritu Santo
Chapel of S. Bartolomé
Chapel of the Concepción
Sanctuary 13
Chapel of Nuestra Señora del Pilar
Vestry
Passage
Baptistery
Chapel of S. Antonio
Chapel of Nuestra Señora de Lourdes
Coro
Chapel of the Comunión
Altar of the Virgen de la Soledad
Great Sacristy
Chapel of S. Fernando
Chapel of the Reliquias
Alba Chapel
Chapel of the Santo Cristo de Búrgos
Festival Hall
Lower Chapel of the Palace
Pórtico de la Gloria
FAÇADE OF THE OBRADOIRO
Chapel of S. José
CLOISTER
Library
Chapter Room
Archives
Balcony
Garage
Dove-cote
Barn
Storage
Loggia
Boiler Room
Corridor
Quarters for Dependents
Kitchen
Hall
Bodega
Sacristy
Larder
Gallery

REGISTER OF PORTALS AND CHAPELS

Numbers and letters run clockwise on the Plan, beginning at the west. [ ] indicates destroyed, ( ) renamed or rededicated

PORTAL OF [OF THE]

AZABACHERÍA. XIth century, replaced 1770; north portal.
E [CANÓNICA]. XIth century, blocked *c.* 1711.
10 CORTICELA. XIIIth century.
(FRANCIGENA). Earliest name for the Portal of the Azabachería.
GLORIA. *c.* 1168–88; modified 1521 and 1738 *ff.*; west porch.
A [GRAMMAR SCHOOL]. XIth–XIIth century.
OBRADOIRO. XIIth century; doorway modified 1521, rebuilt 1738 *ff.*; west portal.
(PARADISO). Old name for the Portal of the Azabachería.
D (PERDONES). XIth century; modified 1694 and later.
F (I PETRARIA). XIth century; modified *c.* 1538.
G [II PETRARIA]. XIth century.
PLATERÍAS. 1078, modified XIIIth, XIVth, and (probably) XVIIIth century; south transeptal portal.
D (S. PAYO) (*Gallegan*). XIth century, modified *c.* 1609 and 1694. Original name.
D (S. PELAYO) (*Spanish*). Same as the preceding.
REAL. 1658; to the Quintana from no. 23.
D SANTA. Same as the preceding. Current name.
B (STA. MARÍA). XIth century; now denatured.
SILVERSMITHS'. 1078, modified XIIIth, XIVth and (probably) XVIIIth century; south transeptal portal.
F (I STONEYARD). XIth–XIIth century; modified *c.* 1538.
G [II STONEYARD]. XIth–XIIth century.
C [VIA SACRA.] After 1077. (Usually given as at no. 7.)

CHAPEL OF [OF THE]

31 ADORACIÓN DE LOS SANTOS REYES. Rebuilt 1738.
30 ALBA *or* ALVA. 1530.
21 [S. ANDRÉS]. XIth century, consecrated 1102, destroyed *c.* 1711.
8 S. ANDRÉS. 1674.
26 [ANIMAS]. Founded 1250. Remains above vestibule ceiling.
[S. ANTONINO] (altar). After 1117; in triforium.
7 S. ANTONIO. 1696; modern dedication.
19 AZUCENA. XIth century; dedicated to S. Pedro in 1102.
2 BAJA DEL PALACIO. XIIth century; vaulted *c.* 1255 or later; altar XVIIIth century.
25 BAPTISTERIO. Font may be of the IXth century.
1 STA. BÁRBARA (?; now abandoned), 1738 *ff.*
14 S. BARTOLOMÉ. XIth century; dedicated to Sta. Fé in 1102.
[S. BENITO] (altar). After 1117; in triforium.
3 CARRILLO. 1665.
6 STA. CATALINA. Dedicated 1544.
32 "CATEDRAL VIEJA." XIIth century; modified at west in the early XVIth century and in 1606.
12 (CLÉRIGOS DEL CORO). 1523.
5 COMUNIÓN. 1764; under way in 1772; in use 1784.
12 CONCEPCIÓN. 1523.
15 CONFESIÓN. *c.* 1112.
10 CORTICELA. XIth–XIIth century; portal XIIIth century.
3 STO. CRISTO DE BÚRGOS. 1665.
12 [STA. CRUZ]. XIth century; dedicated 1102.
20 (STA. CRUZ, *Marques de.*) 1522.
31 DEÁN. XVIIIth century. The Chapel of the Sma. Trinidad in a modernized form; 1738 *ff.*
11 ESPÍRITU SANTO. Second half of the XIIIth century. Enlarged before 1383.
29 STA. FAZ (altar). Painting, 1783.
14 (STA. FÉ). XIth century. Consecrated 1102.
15 FERETORY. XIth century; successively confessio, Magdalen Chapel, Sacristy *de arriba*, and Chapel of the Smo. Sacramento.
27 S. FERNANDO. By 1527, since modified. Formerly trastesoro; reliquary *c.* 1536–1617.
18 (FRANCÉS). After 1077; dedicated to the Salvador in 1102. XVth century name.
22 [S. FRUCTUOSO.] 1106; built in the XIth century; dedicated to S. Martín, 1102; destroyed *c.* 1711.
7 (S. FRUCTUOSO.) Dedicated 1696.
[S. GREGORIO MAGNO] (altar). After 1117, in triforium over the Azabachería.
4 [S. JORJE] (altar at right). Founded 1341.
32 S. JOSÉ. XIIth century; modified at west in the early XVIth century and in 1606.
16 S. JUAN APÓSTOL Y EVANGELISTA. After 1077; consecrated 1102; Sacristy, 1521.
23 [S. JUAN BAUTISTA.] XIth century; dedicated 1102; destroyed *c.* 1711.
4 [LEGITORIO] (altar, upper stage of old coro). XIVth century.
5 [D. LOPE DE MENDOZA.] 1451; replaced 1764 *ff.*
2 LOWER CHAPEL OF THE PALACE. XIIth century, vault *c.* 1255 or later, altar XVIIIth century.
15 (MAGDALEN). XIIth century. Long closed off with walls, serving as sacristy *de arriba* for Capilla Mayor.
19 MAGISTRAL. After 1077, dedicated in 1102 to S. Pedro. Sacristy, 1571.
24 [STA. MARÍA LA ANTIGUA]. Mid XIIIth century; removed perhaps *c.* 1658.
10 STA. MARÍA DE LA CORTICELA. XIth–XIIth century. Portal perhaps XIIIth century.
4 [STA. MARÍA DOS FERROS] (altar, at right). 1382.
15 [STA. MARÍA MAGDALENA.] XIIth century. Long closed off with walls, serving as sacristy *de arriba* for Capilla Mayor.
22 [S. MARTÍN.] XIth century; dedicated 1102, destroyed *c.* 1711.
13 MAYOR. After 1077. Remains of ancient sepulchre below. Ciborium of *c.* 1112, replaced 1468. Extravagantly decorated beginning 1660; ciborium of 1468 replaced 1655 *ff.*
[S. MIGUEL] (altar). In triforium at east.
19 MONDRAGÓN. 1522.
9 (S. NICOLÁS.) XIth century. Dedicated 1102. Now a passage.
[S. NICOLÁS] (altar). After 1117, in triforium.
19 NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA AZUCENA. After 1077; dedicated to S. Pedro in 1102.
17 NUESTRA SEÑORA LA BLANCA. Early XIVth century.
17 NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LAS ESPAÑAS. Same as the preceding.
6 NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LOURDES. Chapel 1544; recent dedication.
5 [NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PERDON.] 1451, replaced 1764 *ff.*
19 (NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA PIEDAD.) 1522.
21, 22 NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR. Built 1711–1722. Planned as main sacristy.
28 PANTEÓN DE LOS REYES. Finished by 1527. In 1536 the royal remains, in 1671 the relics, were transferred here.
31 (PAYO SOGA.) Otherwise Chapel of the Sma. Trinidad. 1738 *ff.*
19 (S. PEDRO.) After 1077; dedicated 1102; Sacristy 1571.
19 (S. PEDRO DE CERCA). Same as the preceding.
21, 22 PILAR. Built 1711–1722. Planned as main sacristy.
12 PURÍSIMA CONCEPCIÓN. 1523.
24 [QUINTANA]. Mid-XIIIth century; removed perhaps *c.* 1658.
28 RELIQUIAS. Finished by 1527; royal remains transferred here in 1536, relics in 1671.
18 (REY DE FRANCIA). After 1077; dedicated to the Salvador in 1102; XVth century name.
28 REYES. Finished by 1527; royal remains transferred here 1536.
15 [SMO. SACRAMENTO]. For a period down to 1532; then no. 18.
32 (SANTIAGO DE ABAJO). XIIth century; modified at west in the early XVIth century and in 1606.
31 (SOGAS, *los.*) 1738 *ff.*
4 SOLEDAD (altar). 1666.
31 SMA. TRINIDAD. Old chapel at the west; modernized 1738.
30 TRANSFIGURACIÓN. 1530.
4 [STA. URSULA] (altar, at side). 1382.
19 VÍRGEN DE LA AZUCENA. After 1077; dedicated to S. Pedro in 1102.
4 VÍRGEN DE LA SOLEDAD (altar). 1666.

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